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WALMER CASTLE
AND ITS
LORDS WARDEN



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THE MARQUESS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.

FROM THE PORTRAIT PAINTED BY JOHN SINGER SARGENT, R.A.
BELONGING TO THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

THE PERSONAL HISTORY
OF
WALMER CASTLE
AND ITS
LORDS WARDEN

BY
THE MARQUESS CURZON OF KEDLESTON
K.G.

EDITED BY
STEPHEN GWYNN

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PERSONAL HISTORY OF WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

THIS work, based on much research and on private correspondence which has never seen the light, as well as on official plans and records procured from the War Office, is also, in part, complete—down to the Lord Wardenship of the Duke of Wellington, and I hope one day to finish it.

In the event of my dying before I have completed this work, I bequeath all papers, plans, and my manuscript on Walmer Castle, to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports for the time being, on condition that he is willing to bring out the work and to keep the papers and plans at Walmer Castle as heirlooms, added to the Collection there belonging to the State to which I have already made very many contributions.

CURZON.

FOREWORD

LORD CURZON, during the brief period for which he held the office of Lord Warden and resided at Walmer Castle, began with characteristic industry to compile a history of the Castle and of the office and of their occupants.

His removal broke in upon the work, but so much had been done that he was never willing to throw it aside, and at intervals during the rest of his life, and even when he was in great offices of state, he continued to make notes and prosecute enquiries relating to various points of his subject.

After his death, since it was thought desirable to secure public circulation for the work that he had left, the papers were submitted to the late Mr. Kingsford, who made the following Report :

The papers consist in the first place of a large mass of material and rough notes : some had been placed by Lord Curzon in envelopes and marked with the nature of the subject ; others were tied in packets ; and others were loose and more or less in disorder. The whole have now been sorted and arranged in numbered packets, preserving so far as possible Lord Curzon's own arrangement : History of the Lords Warden ; The Castle and Estate ; The Heirlooms ; Miscellanea ; Printed Material.

The contents of most of the packets in the first section

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

are of value only as material for the intended History. The packets in the second section, whilst bearing on the History, would be of value for the Archives of the Castle. The third section on "The Heirlooms" would be of value both for the History and the Archives. The packets in the other two sections contain papers of comparatively slight interest and importance, though Nos. 38 and 39 would properly form part of the Archives.

In addition to the Papers in Packets 1-39 there are two large files. The first contains Lord Curzon's draft of his finished history to the death of Lord Liverpool. The second file contains Notes relating to (1) Pitt; (2) Liverpool; (3) The Estate; (4) Wellington. Of these Notes, those on Pitt and Liverpool, and in part those on The Estate, have been used in the finished narrative.

There is also the rough draft of a "Walmer Preface" written in 1905, which though out-of-date is of interest as showing what Lord Curzon had in mind.

As regards the question of publication, the History to the death of Liverpool appears to be finished as intended to be printed. Lord Curzon seems to have intended not only a record, as described in his Preface of 1905, of the intimate social life of Walmer Castle, but also a characterisation of the Lords Warden. The narrative thus owes its interest as well to the personality of the author as to the nature of its contents. This quality appears to me to have an important bearing on the question of publication. I do not think it would be possible for any continuator to reproduce that personal element. On the other hand, to print simply that part which Lord Curzon had completed would leave the book in an imperfect state.

My own suggestion would be to make the latter part simply an anecdotal record of the social life of the later Lords Warden, without attempting any set narrative, and still less any characterisation. For this purpose Lord Curzon had collected ample material for the Duke of

FOREWORD

Wellington, and it would be possible, I think, to show clearly what was intended as regards the Duke's life at Walmer. For the later holders of the office there is much less, though there is, I think, something for most of them.

A list and some account of the Heirlooms would seem to be a necessary part of any intended volume.

Mr. Kingsford's death unhappily prevented the execution of these proposals by his own pen : and the task fell to the present editor, who has been largely guided by Mr. Kingsford's suggestions.

Lord Beauchamp, the present Lord Warden, has been kind enough to revise the material. Without the support of his intimate knowledge, the editor would have felt even more uneasy lest the work should appear in a form unworthy of the high standard which Lord Curzon always maintained. Yet even with this reassuring assistance it is impossible for any literary man to carry out with any confidence directions that are only indicated by a mass of notes. Much will certainly have been omitted which Lord Curzon would have put in : the editor can only hope that nothing is put in which Lord Curzon would have struck out.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

I AM only concerned here to describe the condition and changes of Walmer Castle after the period of its first occupation as a Residence of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. It is beyond doubt that the first Resident Lord Warden was Lionel Sackville, seventh Earl and first Duke of Dorset, in the first half of the eighteenth century. What may have been the reasons that led him to initiate the new policy, or why he should have preferred Walmer to Deal, which was a larger and more commodious building, we do not know.¹ But it is probable that as the owner of Knole, and later on as Lord-Lieutenant of the County, he may have desired a seaside residence for himself and family which was easily accessible from his ancestral home. Knole is now within a short motor drive of Walmer; but even in those days it could be reached by road in a few hours.

¹ The reasons for not taking Dover Castle, of which then as now the Lord Warden was Constable, as a residence are more obvious. It was a military station, garrisoned by troops and entailing military duties. Moreover, it was already the residence of a high official with the title of Lieutenant of Dover Castle—in the time of the Earl of Dorset Lord Shannon held the post. Finally, the position of Dover Castle at the top of a steep hill was not the most convenient for a seaside resort.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

If, however, we are to understand what were the changes effected by the Duke, we must form a clear idea of the nature and surroundings of the Castle as it existed before his day. To do this we must dismiss from our minds all ideas (as suggested by later experience) of a merely castellated residence, with pleasant surroundings of trees, and lawn and flower-beds, with planted moat and well-arranged policies, and must picture to ourselves a purely military fortification, erected in the form of a low, squat, castellated structure on the seashore, with central keep or drum tower, defended by a deep and wide moat (originally filled from the sea), and surrounded by a flat and unbroken expanse of ground which could be swept by its guns. No ivy¹ then crept over the exterior, no modern windows with sashes had been inserted in the grim walls. The muzzles of guns protruded from every port-hole or embrasure. Access was only obtained by a drawbridge, and the life of the small garrison assigned to the Castle must have been indescribably monotonous and slow—an explanation doubtless of the frequent lapses from duty and discipline of which we find traces in the official papers of the seventeenth century. Henry VIII. had originally projected and built the three Castles of the Downs (Walmer, Deal and Sandown), as well as the very similar structures at Sandgate and Camber (within the jurisdiction of the Lord Warden), to protect the most vulnerable section of the South-East coast from Continental invasion. All of these castles or

¹ The ivy has since been cleared off by the Office of Works.—ED.

Walmer

Dover

Deal

THE THREE CASTLES OF THE CINQUE PORTS

From the picture in the Dining-Room at Walmer Castle



INTRODUCTORY

blockhouses were built upon the coast, just above high-water mark (the sea was required to fill their moats), at the points where a hostile landing was most likely to occur ; and all were built at the same time and at what seems to have been a very heavy cost¹ in or about the years 1539–40. A most interesting original document, the “Leger of the Workes of the Kynges Castell” at Sandgate, which has been preserved,² gives the full details, which *mutatis mutandis* apply to all these Castles. The architect was a German military engineer named Stephen von Haspenberg, who is often referred to as Stephen the Alman or Almayne (Allemand) and Stephen the Devisor (*i.e.* desyner), and who received a very high salary, amounting in modern currency to about £20 a week.

The ground plan of Walmer and Sandown Castles was identical, *i.e.* a central circular keep or tower 83 feet in diameter, surrounded by four bastions or lunettes defended by guns, the total diameter being 167 feet. Round the bastions was a moat with masonry escarp which followed their shape and was 50 feet wide and 50 feet deep from the summit of the wall to the original bottom, and contained, when filled, 10 feet of water.

Deal Castle, which was the most considerable of these structures and occupied an area one-third

¹ The total cost is believed to have been £23,000, or over £200,000 in our money. Stowe says that the cost was defrayed partly from the plunder of the suppressed monasteries, partly from the robbery of everything of value from Canterbury Cathedral.

² It has been made the subject of an article by W. F. Rutton, F.S.A., in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xx. p. 228.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

as large again as Walmer or Sandown, consisted, in addition to the central keep, of six bastions and six smaller semicircular lunettes, surrounding the keep. The shape of Sandgate was different, the central keep being connected by galleries with three round towers, which were again connected by curtain walls, the whole approximating in shape to a pear, with its point towards the sea. The cost of the Sandgate works was £5500, equivalent to over £50,000 at the present time.

The material of which the facing of these forts was built was Kentish rag, *i.e.* a hard limestone from the rocks on the seacoast. Caen stone was taken for the chiselled or sculptured work from the dismantled Priories in the neighbourhood, which Henry's policy had exposed to the depredations alike of private persons and the Crown. The core of the walls consists of chalk powdered and pounded solid. The bricks employed were made in the county.

Confining our attention to Walmer, we may notice that the walls of the Keep were 14 feet thick and were (in those days) pierced only by loopholes for light and defence. The keep was surmounted by a battlemented parapet, and the Union Jack flew from a flagstaff upon it. Between the keep and the bastions ran a circular paved alley or passage (now to a large extent encumbered by domestic structures) which was sometimes called the Gallery, sometimes the Round. The latter name (in the plural) is now applied to the internal passage in the heart of the masonry of the bastions, which gave access to the guns in the fifty-two smaller port-

INTRODUCTORY

holes just above the level of the moat. Of the four bastions at Walmer, the two on the sea side were provided with gun-platforms paved with stone, access to which was obtained by stone steps from the circular passage below. The bastion overlooking the drawbridge was similarly mounted with guns. A bellcote, containing the bell with the initials of Charles II. which still hangs upon the ramparts and summons the household to meals, stood upon this bastion. The greater part of the moat opposite the entrance was walled across, but a space of 12 feet was left, spanned by a wooden drawbridge, lifted by chains in the entrance tower.

A square stone, built into the low north wall or parapet of the present bridge,¹ contains this inscription :

THIS CASTLE WAS BUILT IN THE YEAR 1540.
THIS WALL WAS REBUILT IN THE YEAR 1661.

Some writers seem to have imagined that the entire moat was once spanned by a drawbridge. But it is obvious that the machinery for lifting a bridge of such length could not have existed or been manipulated from the entrance gateway ; and it is certain that the drawbridge was never extended over more than a small portion of the moat—that portion, in fact, which is still covered with wooden planking.

The garrison of Walmer was fixed by Henry VIII. at one captain, one deputy or lieutenant, two porters, ten gunners, and four soldiers, the

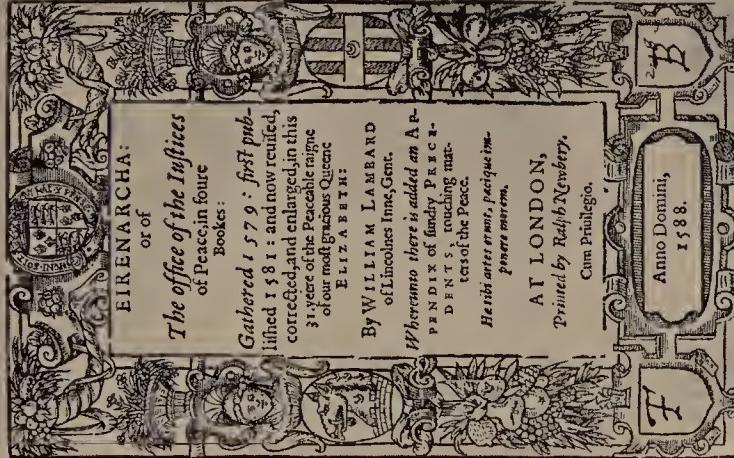
¹ The high wall on the right or southern side of the bridge is modern.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

united pay of whom amounted to £174 : 13 : 4 per annum. At the time of the Spanish Armada the number was slightly increased. But when all fear of invasion was over and the country settled down to the peaceful conditions that prevailed in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, and in that of her successor, the Castle was neglected by the Crown, and their duties were neglected by the garrison. During the reign of James I. and Charles I. the State Papers contain repeated petitions, complaining of the dilapidation of the walls and roofs, the decay of the timbers, the encroachment of the sea, and the lax discipline of the garrison. The Crown, however, wanted money for other things, and turned a deaf ear to the needs of Walmer (it is clear that in that time the Lord Warden, having no special connection with the Castle, paid little or no attention to it) until just before the Civil War. A wall was built to keep out the ravages of the sea, and some repairs were executed both to the fabric and the defences of the Castle. In connection with the former arose the first of the many disputes about the ownership of the foreshore at Walmer which lasted almost into the twentieth century.

The vicissitudes of the Castle during the Civil War, when it fell alternately into the hands of the Parliament and the King, need not be followed here. The Parliament, realising that the place still possessed substantial importance, increased the garrison and the scale of pay. But no sooner had Charles II. regained the throne, and necessity ceased to threaten, than both were reduced to the

Thomas Lumbar



To his favourable good lord,
The Lord Cobham, Lord Warden
of the Tower, Fine Borders, and one
of the Lords of her next, my
honourable Cousin, effects

his humble and much bounden,

William Lambard

W.M.

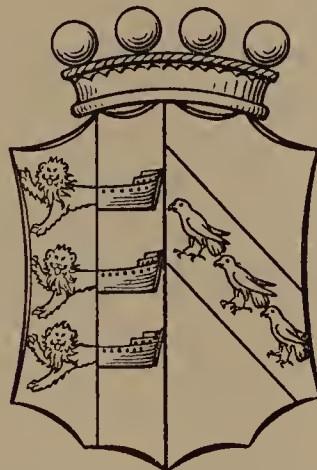
W.M.

LAMBARD'S "EIRENARCHA"

A gift to William, seventh Lord Cobham, K.G., Lord Warden, from the author

INTRODUCTORY

former level; and after the Revolution—when the Castle was seized, without the firing of a shot, for the Prince of Orange—its military value dwindled so rapidly in the changed conditions of home and foreign politics, that, although the garrison was still retained, the Castle ceases to play any but a very minor part in the scheme of national defence. We thus arrive by a natural transition at an epoch when the fabric could safely be converted by alterations, which I will now describe, into a domestic habitation (though on a scale of comfort which would now be thought painfully exiguous), and when a Lord Warden could for the first time take up his abode within its walls.



THE ARMS OF LORD CURZON AS
LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS

CHAPTER II

THE DUKE OF DORSET

First Resident Lord Warden 1708–65

PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK, husband of Queen Anne, had been Lord Warden for some years, before his death in October 1708 necessitated a new appointment. The Queen conferred the post (on December 1, 1708) upon the representative of a great family, Lionel Sackville, who had succeeded his father as seventh Earl of Dorset in 1706. At the early age of twenty he now became Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports—a post which he filled on and off (for in the troubled politics of those days dismissals, resignations and reappointments were normal incidents of political life) for the best part of half a century. His term of office lasted till June 1713, when he was compelled to resign, owing, it is said, to having taken part in drawing up the Whig address to the Queen. His successor was James Duke of Ormond, at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Army, whose Letters Patent conferring the office of Lord Warden bore the date June 18, 1713. Upon the accession of George I., Ormond, who was an avowed Jacobite



LIONEL SACKVILLE, FIRST DUKE OF DORSET.
DUCAL OF DORSET.
1690.

LIONEL SACKVILLE, FIRST DUKE OF DORSET

From a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller at Knole, belonging to Lord Saekville

THE DUKE OF DORSET

partisan, was impeached and fled to France, where he lived henceforward and plotted unsuccessful invasion—ultimately dying in 1745. His disappearance paved the way for the reinstatement of Lord Dorset as Lord Warden, and the latter was further elected a Knight of the Garter on October 16, 1714. Fortune was again capricious, and in 1717 he was once more deprived of his offices and replaced in the Cinque Ports by John Sydney, Earl of Leicester, a nobleman otherwise undistinguished. In 1720 the star of Dorset was once more in the ascendant : he was created Duke of Dorset, and in 1727 we find him for the third time Lord Warden, and officiating as such at the Coronation of George II. From this time forward he held the office for the remainder of his days, “at the King’s pleasure” up till 1757, when it is said to have been conferred upon him for life. It would appear, however, that the “life appointment” cannot have been confirmed by George III. upon his accession in 1760, for the latter, when conferring the post on Lord North in 1778, expressly declared that the Duke of Dorset had only held it during the Royal pleasure. Dorset died at Knole on October 9, 1765, aged seventy-six.

A large oil-painting on the great staircase at Knole, 10 feet by 7 feet, by J. Wootton (the well-known painter of landscapes, sporting scenes and race-horses), depicts the procession of the Earl of Dorset to Dover Castle, after having taken the oath of office at the Court of Shepway. The Earl is on horseback, with a three-cornered hat, a full wig,

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and the ribbon and star of the Garter.¹ On either side of his horse walk liveried footmen ; led horses and mounted trumpeters are immediately in front ; and the figures in the procession, which is wending its way up the steep slopes of the hill crowned by the Castle (from the keep of which floats the Union Jack), include Sir Basil Dixon and Maximilian Buck, chaplain to the Lord Warden and for many years rector of Kemsing. In the distance are seen Dover Harbour and the sea. The date of 1727 which appears upon this picture, following upon the name of the artist, fixes the occasion as that of Dorset's third appointment to the office of Lord Warden. Whether each appointment was followed by a formal ceremony of installation, I have not been able to ascertain. Probably this was the case, inasmuch as there exists among the papers at Knole an account of the "Expence of the Dinner given at Dover Castle 16th of August 1709 by Lionel, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, On his Being Appointed By Queen Ann Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports"—showing that the first appointment had been duly celebrated. For this entertainment, which must have been on a colossal scale, the Earl appears to have been charged £214 : 10 : 3 for the repast by "Mr. Russell, the Dover cook", and a further sum of £76 : 16 : 9 for the "outcharge and expence", including such items as pay of pewterers, butlers, cooks, baker, turnspits, washers-up, use

¹ The Garter was only given to Dorset in 1714, and this definitely rules out the possibility of the occasion represented being the installation of 1708.—ED.



THE PROCESSION OF THE DUKE OF DORSET TO DOVER CASTLE

From the picture at Knole painted by J. Wootton in 1727.

THE DUKE OF DORSET

of glasses and mugs, carriage of staff and material to and fro, and coach-hire—or a total of £291 : 7s., equivalent to about £2500 in our money.

It is perhaps of greater interest to know what the guests of the Lord Warden consumed. The fare included in the First Course, 5 sorts of soups, 12 dishes of fish, 8 of pullets, 1 Westphalia ham, 12 haunches of venison, 6 dishes of roast pigs, 3 dishes of roast goose, 12 venison pasties, 12 white Frigacios (fricassees), 8 dishes of Raggood Veal (Ragoût). It might have been thought that such a repast would have satisfied even the Barons of the Cinque Ports and the doughtiest Dover trenchermen. But no—a Second Course supervened, comprising 14 dishes of ducks, turkeys, and pigeons, 12 dishes of roast lobsters, 15 codlin tarts creamed, 14 dishes of humble pies,¹ 10 dishes of fried fish, 8 dishes of chickens and rabbits. After this came an immense amount of sweetmeats, jellies, syllabubs and cream, fruit, almond pies, custards, etc. ; while on the side-tables was “A Large Chine of Beef stuck with Flaggs and Banner” and costing the sum of £5 : 10s. It is unfortunate that no record survives of the drinks that must have been required to wash down this Gargantuan repast or the additional charge entailed for them. But that it was on an equally prodigal scale is suggested by the mention in the account of the breakages, which included eight dozen of glasses, twelve salvers, and a hundred and twenty jelly-glasses. Why there should have been such mortality among the jelly-glasses is not

¹ Pies made of the umbles or numbles, *i.e.* liver, heart, etc., of deer.

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apparent, unless it was that they came towards the close of the banquet.

The modern Lord Warden will survey these heroic but costly records with a thrill of pardonable satisfaction ; for although he is called upon to pay for the equipages, etc., of his own procession through the streets of Dover, he entertains nobody on the Installation Day, but is, on the contrary, entertained to luncheon by the officers of the Cinque Ports in the Town Hall ; his only toll being a speech in reply to the toast of his health.

There hangs in Walmer Castle a sepia drawing, which was one of the Heirlooms presented to the Castle by the son and heir of Mr. W. H. Smith, and which is described on the official list printed and hung by the Trustees, as representing the Installation Procession of Lord Palmerston on August 28, 1861. A moment's inspection of the costumes should have delivered the compilers of this list from so shocking an anachronism ; and a comparison of this drawing with the Knole painting enables me to pronounce with some confidence that it is a preliminary sketch for Wootton's picture. I have presented to the Castle a photographic reproduction of the painting in order to confirm the detection of the error.¹

The Duke of Dorset was one of those amiable noblemen who are placed in the world to shine with a subdued radiance at Court, filling all sorts of minor posts without distinction, and not always with excess of credit, but with a tenacity that

¹ The reduced-scale photograph of the original picture which faces page 10 is reproduced by the courtesy of Lord Sackville.

THE DUKE OF DORSET

implies some useful gifts. Soon after his appointment as Lord Warden for the third time, he must have contemplated taking up his residence at Walmer, and alterations must have been set in train ; for the earlier of a series of maps and plans in the possession of the War Office dealing with the proposed changes bear the dates 1731–32, while Buck's published engraving, showing the addition to the Castle that was specially made for the Duke's accommodation, bears the date 1735. During the years 1731–32, 1733–34, 1735–37, the Duke was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (and again later, 1750–1755) ; and it must have been at some date between 1730 and 1740¹ that he first took up his residence at Walmer.

A MS. at Knole contains an interesting summary of the moneys paid to the "Establishment of the Cinq Ports" in 1716 :

	Per annum.
	£ s. d.
Lord Warden	501 7 4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Lieutenant of Dover Castle . . .	183 0 0
Chaplain to the Lord Warden . . .	36 12 0
Pay of the Captains, Officers, and Gunners of Archcliff Bulwark, Mole Bulwark, and to Dover, Deal, Sandowne, Sandgate and Walmer Castles	768 12 0
Captain of Sandgate	40 0 0
„ Deal Castle	20 0 0
„ Sandowne	20 0 0
„ Walmore	20 0 0
„ Odd	0 5 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<hr/>
	£1589 16 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ²

¹ He certainly was in residence at Walmer in 1741, for among the Knole MSS. at the Record Office is a list of the plate, linen and other articles "to be sent Walmer Castle September 2nd, 1741".

² A contemporary note in the British Museum (MS. 18. 979), printed as Appendix xii. to Elvin's *Records of Walmer*, and entitled "Establishment

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

And now let us endeavour to ascertain what were the alterations made in the old and comfortless military blockhouse at Walmer to fit it for the residence of a great nobleman. The materials at our command consist of a series of maps and plans, now in the possession of the War Office, some dated, others undated, but all (from the draughtsmanship and the water-mark of the paper) of about the same date, viz. 1730–41. One of these maps has found its way into the British Museum and bears the date 1725.¹ This map is identical with others in the War Office dated 1741, but some of the latter are clearly out of date; for they do not contain the Duke of Dorset's new building, which had already been drawn and engraved by Buck in 1735.

Nevertheless, from this collection of maps and plans we can derive a very clear impression as to the internal and external arrangements of the Castle both before and after the Duke took up his residence there, *i.e.* in the pre-military and post-military periods.

In the former period the Keep, which was the sole place of residence (except for the gunners

of the Cinque Ports ", is practically identical with the Knole summary except that it gives the salary of the Lord Warden as £160, and of the Lieutenant of Dover Castle as £160, and of the Lieutenant of Dover Castle as £50. A possible explanation of the difference is that the sums in the Knole MS., £501 + £183 = £684, represent the items described in the B.M. MS. as Lord Warden £160, Lieutenant of Dover Castle £50, Deputy-Governor (*i.e.* of Dover) £100, Registrar £200, Sergeant of the Admiralty Court about £100, Porter (*i.e.* of Dover) £50, or a total of £660.

¹ King's Library, Maps and Plans, XVIII. 59. It was probably sent by the Master-General of Ordnance for submission to the King with a view to the contemplated alterations, and then retained in the Royal Library.

PLAN of WALMER CASTLE

1725

EXPLANATION

- A The Barn or Governor's Apartment.
- B Gun Room.
- C Kitchen.
- D Unbridge.
- E The Mast.
- F Gunner's Cabins.
- G Stair Case.
- H Chapel.
- I Stair Case up Stair Well.
- K Shairs down to the Stable.
- M Summer Hottes.

Scale 1/2 Inch to one Inch.

PLAN OF WALMER CASTLE, 1725
From a drawing in the British Museum

THE DUKE OF DORSET

who slept in the Rounds), consisted of three floors : (a) the vaults or basement, below the level of the ground—at the same level, indeed, as the Rounds defending the Moat ; (b) the ground floor, containing the Governor's and other apartments ; (c) the first floor, containing bedrooms divided by partitions.

The Basement.—This was entered by a staircase (still existing) from the circular outside passage or area, and there was also a spiral stairway (since blocked up) in the wall leading up to the ground floor of the Keep. In the centre was the well, water from which was pumped to a cistern on the roof ; and the remaining space was divided into the Store Room, Powder Room and Wine Vault. By a somewhat strange arrangement the Powder Room was placed immediately under the room that was used as a kitchen after the Duke of Dorset's alteration. *Impositos ignes cineri doloso.*

Ground Floor.—Prior to residential occupation (which necessitated its use for domestic service) the ground floor provided the ordinary residence of the officers in command. The inner room of the Porter's Lodge (used by myself as a Housekeeper's Room) was the kitchen. Access was gained to the Keep from the outer passage by a single door, and the interior space was divided into three large and two smaller rooms opening one into the other and lighted by six deep embrasures in the walls. The three larger rooms were designated “Governor's Apartments”. In the centre was a shaft containing a newel staircase, 12 feet in diameter, that led to the floor above.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

First Floor.—No details are extant of the arrangements of this floor (now the principal living-storey of the Castle), but the shape and divisions corresponded closely to those of the floor below.

The Bastions.—On each of the two bastions facing the sea were mounted seven guns, and in the inner corners of the N.E. bastion nearest the passage separating it from the Keep were two small summer-houses, the sole concession to æsthetic enjoyment that appears to have been made to the occupants of that day.¹ Under the S.E. bastion in the passage was the stable, and on the gun-platform was built a cabin for the gunners. The latter were further accommodated in a structure built on the S.W. bastion, on the site afterwards occupied by the Duke of Wellington's rooms and the apartments below them. On the bastion behind these cabins was the Gun Room.

The “Governor’s Garden” was to the right of the Moat upon entrance, on the site of the present kitchen garden. But presumably it only served the latter purpose; the glacis of the Castle being treeless and relatively bare.

The Moat was by this time dry, but it was not divided up by walls and no attempt had yet been made to convert it into a garden.

Such would appear to have been the general arrangement of the Castle before the appearance of a Resident Lord Warden on the scene. A plan dated 1731–32 shows a number of alterations, in

¹ In unconscious reproduction of the old design, Lord Brassey erected a wooden summer-house on the same bastion in 1912.

THE DUKE OF DORSET

respect of new gunners' apartments and two-storied "cabbins for gunners" on the S.W. bastion, designed by Mr. H. Foucquett, and marked as approved in 1732. If these were executed, they disappeared entirely at a later date.

Broadly speaking, the requirements of the Duke of Dorset necessitated (*a*) the erection of entirely new quarters for himself; (*b*) the conversion of the ground floor into service-rooms for his establishment. Accordingly the next series of plans shows the latter partitioned afresh into Pantry, Kitchen, Wash-house, Store-room and Bake-house; the first-floor rooms now become "the rooms in the body of the Castle"; and there is built out on to the N.E. bastion facing the sea the single-storied red-brick projection which has ever since furnished the principal living-rooms of the Lord Warden.

There would appear to have been two plans made for this addition. The first, which was not executed, showed a single-storied edifice, built of rubble stone and faced with Portland stone, with a very heavy round-arched doorway in the centre (now the ante-room) opening on to the bastion, and round-arched windows in the front and end walls of the principal apartments. What is now the Drawing-Room was designed to consist of two apartments; the Dining-Room (24 feet 6 inches long by 16 feet broad) was much as now; and the total length of the block was 74 feet. The roof was flat without a battlement, and the general appearance of this inelegant elevation was a miniature edition of old Newgate Prison in London. Fortunately

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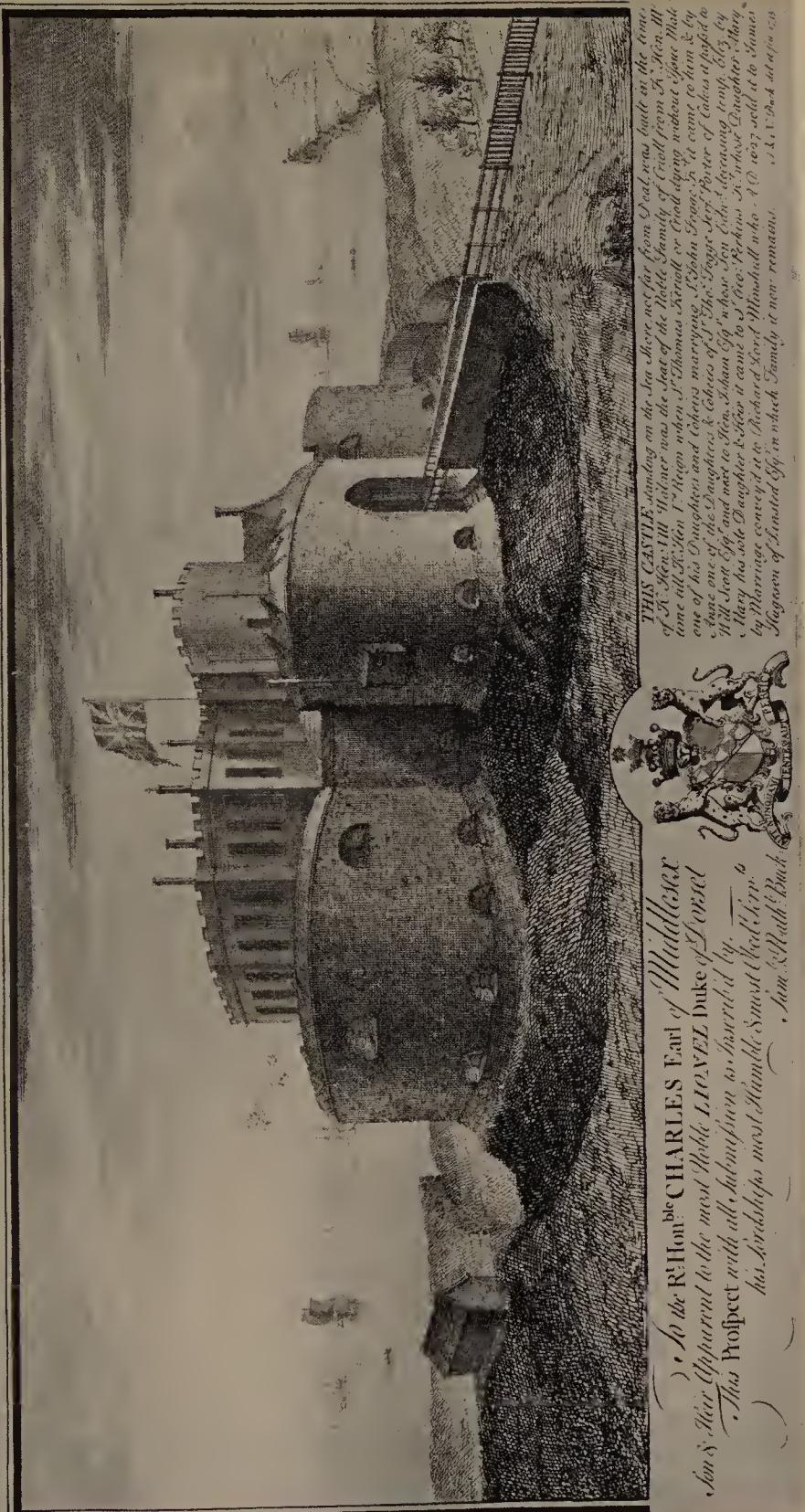
this plan was not carried out, and a second and later design was preferred which is substantially (though not in all particulars) identical with the red-brick battlemented structure that now exists. The Dining-Room was to have, and appears from Buck's engraving to have had, windows at the north end (since bricked up¹); the Drawing-Room was still divided into two apartments; but the main improvement was that, in joining on this addition to the Keep, the walls of the latter were cut away so as to admit of the two narrow slips, designated in later plans (before Lord Granville's alterations) as (a) bedroom, out of the dining-room, (b) study, out of the drawing-room, and (after Lord Granville's time) as (a) pantry or serving-room, and (b) the little sitting-room, in which the apocryphal meeting of Nelson and Pitt is supposed to have taken place. It was originally intended to carry the new block down to the level of the ground floor or circular alley, and to build over the latter. But this was not done, and the section of the alley under the new apartments was left open and is now designated the Arches.

The above description will have given a general idea of the Castle as reconstructed for the Duke of Dorset. The fact that his name is attached to the eastern ground floor room in the S.W. bastions (immediately under the Duke of Wellington's room), which has long been known as the Sackville room,²

¹ It is obvious from the colour of the brickwork that the solid brick bay at the end of the Dining-Room (in which the sideboard stands) is a later edition, replacing the original windows.

² Name no longer in use in 1927.—ED.

THE NORTH WEST VIEW OF WALMER CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF KENT.



THE DUKE OF DORSET

would appear to indicate, if the ascription be authentic, that the Duke either did not sleep in the new red-brick annexe, or perhaps that, while it was building, he preferred to live elsewhere. If this room was really constructed by him, it follows that the S.W. bastion ceased to be used for defence in his day, since the three embrasures in the wall which are now utilised to provide for the garden entrance and to light the Sackville room and the corresponding bedroom on the other side, were filled by big guns in the earlier scheme of defence.

At the time when the Duke of Dorset took up his residence at Walmer, the Lord Warden had already begun to lose the greater part of his civil jurisdiction owing to the decay of the Court of Chancery over which he had presided. But he still had his Court of Admiralty for maritime cases—surviving to this day—and his Court of Lodemanage, of which he was Chancellor, Admiral and President, for making appointments and regulations relating to loadsmen or pilots, and for imposing fines. He held the supreme command of all military forces within his jurisdiction, and he appointed to a great number of posts, including the Officers of the Ports and their Registrar (with a salary of £200 per annum), the Lieutenant and officer of Dover Castle and forts, the Captain and Lieutenant and subordinate officers of each of the four coast castles, the judges and officials of the Courts (of whom the Sergeant of the Admiralty Court had a salary of £100 a year), and all military officers, Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Salvage in the liberties

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of the Cinque Ports. He also controlled the Parliamentary representation of Dover, if not of the other Cinque Ports. During the tenure of office of the Duke of Dorset, two Assemblies of Brotherhood and Guestling were held, in 1727 and 1750. But since the restoration of Charles II. these had lost their former power and meaning.

I have only discovered one reference which gives any clue to the duration of the Duke of Dorset's period of residence at Walmer. This is to be found in the published *Travels through England of Doctor Richard Pococke*, Bishop of Meath and later of Ossory,¹ in 1750 and the following years. Describing his journeys in Kent in 1754, the Bishop says: "Walmer Castle is in the hands of the Duke of Dorset, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, where his Grace passes a few weeks in the summer"; and no doubt this brief statement correctly represented the facts.

¹ Published by the Camden Society in 1889, vol. ii. p. 92.

CHAPTER III

ROBERT D'ARCY, FOURTH EARL OF HOLDERNESSE

Lord Warden 1765-78

THE next Lord Warden was Robert d'Arcy, fourth Earl of Holdernes, to whom the post had been promised some years previously and was now given by George III. for life. It has been generally assumed that he only received the office on the death of the Duke of Dorset (October 9, 1765). But I am inclined to think that the latter had resigned earlier, being in advanced old age, and that Lord Holdernes was appointed Lord Warden during his predecessor's lifetime. In this way only can I explain the record of the Installation Procession on July 16, 1765, which is printed as an appendix to Knocker's account of the Installation of Lord Palmerston (*Grand Court of Shepway*, p. 125) and which is erroneously connected in the same work (p. 88) with the Duke of Dorset. Clearly the ceremony was that of Lord Holdernes.

This nobleman, solid and steady in character but mediocre in talents, had held several minor posts, as a Lord of the Bedchamber to George II., whom he accompanied to Hanover and to the battlefield of Dettingen in 1743, and subsequently as Minister to

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the Venetian Republic and to the Netherlands, before becoming principal Secretary of State in 1751. From that date he is one of those shadowy and incomprehensible figures who seem necessary to administrations, but of whom no one can ever say exactly how they arrived or why they remained there. When George III. succeeded to the Throne, however, the Secretaryship of State was wanted for Lord Bute, the friend of the Princess of Wales ; and accordingly Lord Holderness was dismissed, but was consoled for his disappointment by a pension of £4000 a year and the reversion of the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, which he duly received in 1765. As will appear later, the salary of the latter post was also, as a special compliment to him, raised from £1000 - £1500 a year to £4000. A few years later, in 1771, he was further appointed Governor to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.), then in his tenth year—an office which he owed, according to Horace Walpole (who never spared him), to "his insignificance and to his wife, a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen" (Charlotte). There seems indeed to have been a chorus of agreement among his contemporaries as to the insignificance of Lord Holderness. It is the phrase employed by Lord Shelburne (afterwards the first Marquis of Lansdowne), who wrote of him in his Autobiographical Notes, " He supported himself, as many a man has done before him and since, by his insignificance ".¹ Horace

¹ *Life of Earl of Shelburne*, by Lord Fitzmaurice, 2nd edition, 1912, vol. i. p. 69.

ROBERT D'ARCY

Walpole reviled him as a “formal piece of dulness”, and even George III. was tempted into an epigram at his expense. Speaking of the elder Pitt and Holderness, who were Secretaries of State together, the King remarked when he got rid of them: “I had two Secretaries, one of whom could do nothing, and the other would do nothing.” Less exacting or less authoritative critics described Lord Holderness as a silent and good-natured man. He married a Dutch lady, his only daughter by whom espoused the first Duke of Leeds, but ran away from her husband with the worthless Captain Byron, father of the poet. Lord Holderness, as a Conyers, was a Yorkshire nobleman, and when not in London resided at Hornby Castle, which passed through his daughter into the possession of the Dukes of Leeds. There is nothing to show that he ever resided at Walmer Castle, though the local historians (e.g. Pritchard's *Deal*) make the mistake of assigning to his reign the structural alterations and improvements that had, as we have seen, been carried out for his predecessor. Whether Lord Holderness did or did not execute any alterations in the fabric of the Castle we do not know. If he did, he may well have been responsible for the introduction of sash windows in the walls; for this is exactly what he did in the outer walls of his fine Yorkshire castle at Hornby, where he took out the mullions and inserted sashes in their place.

He must have appointed his grandson Captain of Deal Castle; for it is on record that in 1776 the Marquis of Carmarthen had that residence fitted

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

up for his reception and for the purpose of sea-bathing.¹

On May 16, 1778, Lord Holderness died—the least impressive Lord Warden between 1750 and 1900.

¹ Pritchard's *History of Deal*, p. 300.



THE CORRIDOR, LOOKING SOUTH

CHAPTER IV

FREDERICK LORD NORTH, AFTERWARDS
SECOND EARL OF GUILFORD

1778-92

THE next Lord Warden was the first of four Prime Ministers of Great Britain to hold the post in unbroken succession. This was Frederick Lord North, the easy, good-tempered, frequently witty, always well-meaning, but short-sighted statesman who, during his Premiership of nearly twelve years, lost us the American colonies and destroyed his reputation by his subsequent coalition with Fox, and who has left to posterity a far from enviable name. For some time George III., in order to escape the disagreeable necessity of recalling Chatham to power, had been pressing North to continue in office ; he had been Prime Minister, though he never applied the title to himself, since 1770. North for his part had been equally anxious to resign ; but the death of Chatham on May 11, 1778, followed within a few days by the death of Lord Holderness, added to his own embarrassed position, left him defenceless before the importunities of George III., and on June 3, 1778, he was appointed Lord Warden.

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The following were the terms in which the offer was made by the King, only three days after Lord Holderness's death :

" KEW, May 19, 1778.

" When I last year acquainted you with my intentions of conferring the Office of Warden of the Cinque Ports upon you,¹ I flattered myself this fresh mark of my regard would have stimulated you to continue at the head of the Treasury, and I intended therefore to have put it on the foot the late Duke of Dorset held it,² but certainly never to have granted it for life; the having been persuaded, to answer a particular object, when quite ignorant of public affairs, to grant that Office for life to Lord Holderness is not a reason for my conferring it now in that mode. I daily find the evil of having put so many employments out of the power of the Crown, and for the rest of my life I will not confer any in that mode but where constant practice has made it matter of course.

" The many marks I have given you of my friendship must convince you that when I decline conferring the Cinque Ports on you but during pleasure, I will never give this office but in that mode. If you still persist in retiring, though I feel the detriment it will be to my service, I will confer

¹ The future disposition of this lucrative and much-coveted office seems to have been freely canvassed in those times both by the Sovereign and by the various candidates who aspired to obtain it.

² This seems to show that, whereas the Duke of Dorset is said to have received the Cinque Ports in 1757 for life, George III. on succeeding to the throne had only continued him in the appointment during the Royal pleasure.

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the Cinque Ports during pleasure, with any additional salary to make it equal to the sum received by Lord Holdernes ; it must be termed an additional salary, that the income may not be increased, whenever the Office shall be in other hands."

The acceptance of the Cinque Ports by North was made at the time, and has been made since, the subject of bitter and even scurrilous attacks, for which there appears to have been no adequate foundation. First he was accused of a breach of faith to a rival aspirant. Horace Walpole, seldom at a loss for an imputation or a sneer, wrote as follows :

" On the death of Lord Holdernes in 1778 the Duke of Dorset¹ expected to succeed, having applied to Lord North previously for his interest, who gave the Duke his word he would not be his competitor ; yet the post was conferred on Lord North himself. The Duke asked an audience of the King, and complained of this breach of promise. The King said Lord North had not broken any promise, for the place had been given to him without his asking it."

Viewing the matter through this distorted lens, Walpole did not shrink from describing Lord

¹ This was John Frederick Sackville, third Duke (1745-99), a grandson of the first Duke and former Lord Warden. He had succeeded to the title in 1769 and seems to have thought that he had a quasi-hereditary lien upon the Office. At a later date he became Ambassador at the Court of France (1783-89), but again pressed his claims to the Cinque Ports when they were vacated by the death of North.

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North's conduct as "that of an attorney or a Jesuit, and not of a gentleman".¹

Walpole's editor, however, declined to accept this uncharitable verdict, and defended the unblemished character of Lord North on the ground that he probably had reason to believe that his refusal would not secure the office for the Duke of Dorset: besides which he was not wealthy, and the King earnestly sought an opportunity of making permanent provision for him.

The Sackville family would almost seem to have thought—ever since the long tenure of the Office by the first Duke—that the Cinque Ports ought to be regarded as a family appanage; for we find Lord George Germain,² third son of that Duke and a Cabinet colleague of North (as Secretary of State for the Colonies (1775–82)), cherishing similar ambitions. In 1778, when Lord Holderness's death was imminent, not being very comfortable in the Cabinet, Germain let North know that he would like the office; but, he added, if his chief had any thought of it for himself—

"I can have no pretensions. When I consider my age" (he was sixty-two) "I cannot expect to have health and activity much longer to discharge the duty of my present situation."³

Germain, however, did not avenge his disappoint-

¹ *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.* (London, 1845) p. 80.

² *Stopford Sackville Papers* (Hist. MSS. Com.).

³ Up till 1700 he was known as Lord George Sackville, but changed his name on inheriting a fortune from Lady Betty Germain. He was created Viscount Sackville in 1782.

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ment by making false or malicious charges, and North may, I think, be unhesitatingly acquitted of having unfairly forestalled or supplanted any other rival.

A more formidable and malicious charge was that of having, by the acceptance of the Cinque Ports, received either a heavy bribe or a corrupt favour from the King. This accusation lost nothing in effect from the position of the men who levelled it or from the language in which the taunt was conveyed.

On November 6, 1778, Fox (the future colleague of Lord North) said in the House of Commons :

“The noble Lord in the blue ribbon . . . in the very moment of additional calamities goes into the Cabinet and advises his Sovereign to bestow on him a most lucrative vacant place, the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. And why? Because in another year the Crown might have nothing left to give, if his Lordship continues to govern.”¹

In the House of Lords Lord Shelburne easily surpassed the standard of the Commons : “There was”, he said, when the appointment was made, “no fear of the breed of true Court spaniel becoming extinct.”²

Sixty years later Lord Mahon echoed the same charge in a milder and less offensive form :

¹ *The Beauties of Fox, North and Burke* (1784). Six months later, in another speech in the House, Fox described Lord North to his face as “a lump of deformity and disease, of folly and wickedness, of ignorance and temerity”. These were the amenities of the eighteenth century.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. xix. 1267.

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“ It might perhaps have been more thoroughly consistent with his amiable and upright character, had Lord North, at so difficult a crisis and while kept in office in his own despite, refrained from so great a remuneration.”¹

Lecky accepts a similar view when he writes :

“ The position of Lord North had long been morally untenable, and it became much worse in 1778, when he consented to accept from the King the Office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, with an additional salary of £4000 a year.”²

These circumstances make it seem desirable, in fairness to North, to ascertain what were exactly the nature and extent of the solatium which he was alleged to have corruptly received.

It is the popular belief, stated by Lord Mahon³ (the editor of the correspondence of George III. with Lord North),⁴ and repeated by Lord Fitzmaurice,⁵ that the combined emoluments of North as First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Warden, in and after 1778, were £12,000 per annum, of which £5000 was the salary attached to the Cinque Ports. But this is quite inconsistent with what was stated by North himself when vindicating his conduct in the House of

¹ *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht*, vol. vi. p. 356.

² *History of England in the 18th Century*, vol. iv. p. 106. The question of the salary attached to the office will be discussed later.

³ *History*, vol. vii. p. 356.

⁴ *W. B. Donne*, vol. ii. 195.

⁵ *Life of William Earl of Shelburne*, 2nd edition, 1912, vol. ii. 29.

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Commons on June 21, 1779, in reply to an attack by Thomas Townshend.

"The hon. gentleman had attacked him on his activity to acquire reversions and emoluments. . . . He had been in a most laborious and very expensive office for twelve years without asking for a single emolument. . . . Last year His Majesty was graciously pleased . . . to present him with . . . the Cinque Ports. He accepted it; but it was well known that he refused to accept it with the lucrative salary which the noble person who held it before him received, and expressly at his own desire received the lower salary, which had been paid previous to the Office having been bestowed on his predecessor. He really did not know what the income of it was exactly, because he had not enquired what it was, but he believed about £1000 a year. . . . He was ready to resign his Wardenship of the Cinque Ports; and when he went out of Office (which he assured the honourable gentleman he was and had long been as desirous of quitting as he could possibly be of having him dismissed) after his twelve years' laborious service, his family would rest in possession of fifteen hundred pounds . . . the whole he was in possession of for . . . a pretty numerous family."¹

Lord North was a little vague, perhaps characteristically vague, about the exact nature of his income as Lord Warden. But it would appear that

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. xx. 926. At these words Lord North is declared to have burst into a flood of tears.

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he was substantially right in putting it at this date at a thousand pounds. In a letter of June 7, 1774, the King had written of the salary, “as you choose it should not exceed £1500 a year”. The conclusion is that the total had been £1000-£1500 a year under the Duke of Dorset—a sum which must have been exclusive of the establishment payments quoted on an earlier page ; that it had been raised to the gross total of £4000 as a special favour to Lord Holderness, but that Lord North on accepting the office reverted spontaneously to the lower figure.

In 1782, however, the salary was again raised by the King’s wish, to the Holderness level of £4000—an increase which was explained by Lord North in the House of Commons on April 26, 1782 ; and this he received until his death.¹

The fact is that Lord North was never a rich, and at times was an inconveniently poor, man. He remained an “eldest son” till 1790, when he was nearing sixty years of age, and his father appears to have made him no allowance after he had entered public life. His wife’s property (she was Miss Anne Speke) and his own amounted to between £1500 and £2000 a year. Before he was appointed Lord Warden he frequently told Robinson (Secretary to the Treasury) that his expenses had, in every year since he became First Lord, very largely exceeded his income.² His salary as Lord Warden must therefore have been a useful and valuable addition

¹ Walpole, always spiteful, spoke of this erroneously as an additional pension, after retirement, of £4000 a year (*Last Journals*, vol. ii. pp. 304-536).

² *Abergavenny Papers* (Hist. MSS. Com.).

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to his income.¹ Such was the explanation given by his daughter, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, in the letter which she wrote for Lord Brougham's *Historical Sketches* in 1839. But it must be added that Lord North would appear to have been a thoroughly bad manager and to have made a poor use of means which in more provident hands should have sufficed for all necessary calls.

How much of his time Lord North spent at Walmer Castle I have been unable to determine. When not in London (where he resided in Grosvenor Square) he appears to have spent the greater part of his leisure at Bushey Park, of which the King had appointed him Ranger in 1771, and later, when in infirm health, at Tunbridge Wells. He inherited the family place, Waldershare, near Dover, too late in life to make use of it. Pritchard² declares that on the appointment of Lord North, Walmer Castle was "still more improved". I have found no independent confirmation of this statement, nor indeed any evidence that North ever resided continuously at the Castle. In the last years of his life, when he was nearly blind and increasingly infirm, we hear of him—on the evidence of his friend Anthony Storer—going down to Walmer in April 1787, when he "was grown very thin and all but blind—he could not distinguish the colour of

¹ R. Lucas, *Lord North*, vol. i. p. 125; vol. ii. pp. 47-48, 311. In 1777 the King had advanced him a sum of £20,000 from Secret Service money to pay his debts. North did not draw the whole of this sum, and when he was out of office and favour in 1782 the King rather shabbily called him to account for the balance.

² *History of Deal*, p. 330.

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the wine ". He lived for five years more and then died, a wreck of his former self.

His is rather a pathetic figure in history. Naturally good-humoured and indolent, ugly in face and obese in figure, possessing, as his well-known portrait by W. Dance shows, a startling, and, as was hinted by the gossips of the day, a suspicious likeness to George III. (Frederick Prince of Wales, whose name he bore, had stood godfather to him at his birth)—cautious, dilatory, and temporising, sleepy in mind as in body, he was, nevertheless, Leader of the House of Commons and Prime Minister for nearly twelve years, in a Parliament that contained the two Pitts, Fox, Burke, Shelburne and other shining lights. North was a good and exceedingly witty debater and a man of personal honesty and good faith. In other times he might have been equally fortunate, or he might, by a chance turn of the die, have been relatively obscure. But in the particular epoch in which his lot was cast, he was doomed by his own qualities or lack of qualities—viewed in relation to those of the particular Sovereign whom he served—to be ill-starred, inglorious and inept.

Among the prerogatives which were at that time attached either to the Cinque Ports or to their official chief, and which in an age inured to privilege excited no comment, the Parliamentary representation of the Ports has aroused the fiercest wrath of the latest historian of the period. Sir George Trevelyan in the concluding volumes of his *American*

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Revolution,¹ writing of the year 1780, says that “the most scandalous examples of abuse were the Cinque Ports of Kent and Sussex”. After describing the list of voters in the constituency of Seaford (near Brighton), of Winchelsea, which had four freemen, and of Rye, which had twenty-four (mostly petty customs officers), he concludes :

“ Such was the municipal constitution of the Cinque Ports, ten years after the American War ended ; and when North and Sandwich were in office, it had been worse, instead of better.”

No doubt the representation of the Cinque Ports, as of many other Parliamentary constituencies at that time, was an open scandal in which all acquiesced or connived. But it is not clear that North deserves to be singled out for special obloquy. His share of the abuse seems, according to a letter written by Elisabeth Countess Cornwallis to her son on April 7, 1780, to have been confined to the control of four Parliamentary seats in his capacity of Lord Warden.²

There is one story connected with Lord North’s tenure of the Cinque Ports which I find difficulty in crediting. Down to the time of the Duke of Wellington it was customary for the Lord Warden to appoint a Captain of Walmer Castle, who was responsible for the garrison and defences as long as it was treated as a military fortress, and who afterwards enjoyed a modest sinecure in the gift of his patron. Hasted, in the 1799 folio edition of

¹ Vol. ii. (1914) p. 199.

² *Wykeham-Martin Papers* (Hist. MSS. Com.).

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his great work on Kent, says that Charles James Fox was Captain in 1779. If so, it can only have been on the nomination of Lord North, who had become Lord Warden in the previous year. But how North could have conferred this or any office at that time upon Fox, who was in violent opposition to him and had just (as we have seen) attacked him in unmeasured terms for his acceptance of the Cinque Ports, or how Fox could have accepted such a post at his hands, I am quite unable to explain ; and accordingly I regard the story—which appears to find no confirmation in the various biographies of Fox—with pardonable suspicion.

CHAPTER V

RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT

1792–1806

LORD GUILFORD died on August 5, 1792 ; and so fully had the King made up his mind as to the destination of the Lord Wardenship, with its high prestige and acceptable income, that on the next day he wrote the following letter to Pitt. (The latter was now in his thirty-fourth year and had been Prime Minister for nearly nine years.)

“ WINDSOR, *August 6th, 1792.*

“ Having this morning received the account of the death of the Earl of Guilford, I take the first opportunity of acquainting Mr. Pitt that Wardenship of the Cinque Ports is an office for which I will not receive any recommendations ; having positively resolved to confer it on him as a mark of that regard which his eminent services have deserved from me. I am so bent on this that I shall seriously be offended at any attempt to decline. I have intimated these my intentions to the Earl of Chatham, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas.”¹

¹ *Memoirs of the Life of Rt. Hon. W. Pitt*, by Bishop Tomline, vol. iii. 407. The letters from the King to the noblemen here mentioned, informing them that he would take no refusal from Pitt, have also been published.

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Pitt, whose private circumstances were far more straitened than those of his predecessor, and who was chronically in debt, gratefully accepted an honour which both assured him of the confidence of his Sovereign and relieved his pecuniary embarrassment : and so pure and unscathed was his reputation that no one was found, as in the case of North, to point an innuendo or hazard a sneer.¹ A footnote to Bishop Tomline's *Life* records that there was but one unfriendly critic, the same noble lord who fourteen years earlier had raised a similar objection to the appointment of North.

“A noble duke, who had a high situation in H.M.'s household, applied to Mr. Pitt for this Office, which was always considered to be in the gift of the Minister ; and he took every opportunity of expressing and shewing his resentment that Mr. Pitt would not decline it in his favour. Three years afterwards, he refused to give his vote for a professorship at Cambridge, which vote he had in right of his official situation, according to Mr. Pitt's wishes, assigning his disappointment with respect to the Cinque Ports as his reason ; and yet the noble

¹ Sir J. Bland Burges, Under-Secretary of State, and the man who lent Burke the dagger with which he made the famous theatrical display on the floor of the House of Commons on December 28, 1792, wrote two letters on the subject to William, first Lord Auckland, then the Hon. William Eden and serving as Ambassador at The Hague. In the first, dated August 10, 1792, he wrote : “The destination of the Cinque Ports is yet a secret ; but they will go to the man who of all others in England best deserves on every account to have them” (*Correspondence of Lord Auckland*, vol. ii. p. 431). In the second, dated August 17, 1792, he wrote : “Mr. Pitt has taken the Cinque Ports, and upon the same footing Lord North held them. What is surprising, not a single libel has yet appeared upon the occasion” (*Selection from Burges' Letters* (1885), p. 208).



THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT, LORD WARDEN

From a portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, formerly belonging to Mr. R. A. Tatton

RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM Pitt

duke was suffered to retain his situation in the household till his death in 1799."

It is to Lord Stanhope that we owe the name of this mean-spirited nobleman. We learn without surprise that it was John Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset, at this time Lord Steward of the Royal Household.¹

It appears that the salary which the King had attached to the office of Lord Warden while it was held by Lord North was continued to his successor. Lord Stanhope says that, upon Pitt's appointment, it amounted to £3000 per annum. This was approximately the net sum received by the Lord Warden after he had paid the official or establishment charges connected with the office ; and the totals of £4000 or £3000 which are variously given by contemporary writers depend upon the method of calculation adopted. The post had in fact become a lucrative political sinecure, charged upon the Civil List, but in the gift of the Sovereign, and tenable at his will.

Pitt's salary of £3000 as Lord Warden was made up as follows :

Salary as Warden, charged on Civil List . . .	£4100
Less deductions on account of duties and	
salaries to subordinate officers, <i>circa</i> . . .	1300
	—
	£2800
Further Salary, charged on Army Votes, <i>circa</i> . . .	280
	—
Total net receipts . . .	£3080 ²

¹ *Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. 162.

² Appendix to *Report of Select Committee on Finance*, July 19, 1797. Pitt's friends on several occasions spoke of his actual income from the Cinque Ports as £2500.

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In addition the Lord Warden received various sums arising from local rights and fines in connection with the Courts of the Cinque Ports, but these were of small and uncertain amount.¹

Pitt, upon his appointment, had to resign his seat for the University of Cambridge and to stand for re-election, a necessity which a century later befel the only other Commoner who has held the office of Lord Warden, viz. the Right Hon. W. H. Smith.

So acceptable was the offer of a seaside residence to the hard-worked Minister that he entered with zest upon the immediate occupation of Walmer Castle, and continued to reside there in the autumn, and even at other times of the year, with as much regularity as was possible until his death, rather more than thirteen years later. He first arrived at the Castle at the beginning of September 1792. Stanhope mentions the interesting fact that so concerned was the King as to the safety of his Minister, about to reside within actual sight of the French coast, that he sent secret orders to Lord Amherst, then Commander-in-Chief, to stockade the ditch of the Castle and station in it a picket of soldiers.²

Almost the first visitor whom Pitt received was Addington, then Speaker of the House of Commons,

¹ An appendix to Lord Rosebery's *Pitt* (pp. 295-97) gives the total of Pitt's emoluments at this period as: First Lord of the Treasury, £5000; Chancellor of the Exchequer, £2452; Lord Warden, £3080; or a grand total of £10,532.

² *Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 220.

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whose political fortunes were destined to be so closely bound up with his own and to pass through such strange vicissitudes of intimacy and estrangement. Addington, whom his friends satirically dubbed “The Doctor”,¹ and who filled a post in public life for which his abilities were an insufficient qualification,² was recuperating at Ramsgate with his family, and, in response to an invitation from the new Lord Warden, rode over on the 22nd of September to spend a few days at Walmer. Pitt asked the Speaker to accompany him to an official dinner which was about to be given by the Corporation of Canterbury in honour of his recent appointment. The sequel is told in Addington’s own words.³

“ It will readily be imagined that at a period of such intense political excitement a great difference of opinion respecting the policy pursued by the

¹ The explanation generally accepted is that he was so called because of his parentage, his father having been a well-known physician who attended Lord Chatham. But Lord Campbell says that the nickname was given because the son once suggested a simple but efficacious remedy for the unfortunate malady of George the Third. The joke was continued to the point of calling Addington and his political friends The Medici family (*Life and Letters of Lord Minto*, vol. iii. p. 287). At a later date, when he succeeded Pitt as head of the Government, the wits composed this epitaph on him :

“ Sous ce marbre, passant, le Sieur Addington gît,
Ministre soi-disant, Médecin malgré lui.”

² Even Pitt, who was on affectionate terms with Addington, could not always stand him, and, later on, in July 1802, when Addington had succeeded him as head of the Government, wrote that he thought “him the vainest man he had ever met, a man of little mind, of consummate vanity and very slender abilities” (J. R. Holland Rose, p. 477).

³ *Life and Correspondence of Right Hon. H. Addington, First Viscount Sidmouth*, by the Hon. George Pellew, D.D. (London, 1847), vol. i. p. 90.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

Prime Minister prevailed between the civic authorities assembled within the Town Hall and the populace collected outside, so that when the Minister and his friend at length left the festive board, and entered the carriage which was to convey them to Sittingbourne,¹ they encountered certain unequivocal marks of disapprobation. ‘A pretty story’, said Mr. Pitt, ‘will this make in the papers. The Minister and the Speaker dined with the Corporation of Canterbury, got very drunk, and were hissed out of the town.’

“The *Morning Chronicle*, however,” said Addington, “acted more leniently. It only stated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was observed, in walking to his carriage, to oscillate like his own Bills.”

Ten days later, William Wilberforce, whose friendship with Pitt—they were born in the same year, but were almost at opposite poles of opinion and temperament—is one of the greatest tributes to the latter’s charm, and who later on exerted himself to raise a large sum among Pitt’s friends to discharge his debts, paid his first visit to Walmer. He was more concerned with the spiritual than with the political salvation of his host, and the record of his diary merits a verbatim quotation.

“October 3rd, 1792. On (from Canterbury where he had halted for the night) to Walmer. Pitt received me very kindly, and with great warmth of affection.

¹ They were evidently returning to London.

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“*October 4th.* At night alone with Pitt, but talked politics only—did not find myself equal to better talk. I came here hoping that I might really find an opportunity of talking seriously with Pitt. What am I to do so with anyone? O Christ, help me!

“*October 5th.* Morning. Had some serious talk with Pitt—interrupted or should have had more. Walked with him. I see much reason to admire his integrity, public spirit, and magnanimity in despising unpopularity. Told me his finance plans. . . . Eliot¹ arrived to a late dinner. Affection glistened on his countenance when he came in to Pitt. I stole off to bed at eleven, and got off early on Saturday morning, thinking no further object of sufficient magnitude would be attained by my staying, to balance a quiet instead of an unsabbatical Sunday, feeling for my servants,” etc.²

It is apparent that Wilberforce did not obtain the opportunity that he sought. Twelve years later, upon Pitt’s death, this pious Christian, in a letter to Lord Muncaster, mourned his lost friend in these words :

“I own I have a thousand times (aye, times without number) wished and hoped that a quiet interval would be afforded him, in the evening of his life, in which he and I might confer freely on

¹ This was the Hon. Edward James Eliot, eldest son of Lord Eliot of St. Germans, who had married Pitt’s sister Harriet, and whom Pitt meant to send out as Governor-General to India (when Lord Mornington went) in 1797, but who died prematurely in that year.

² *Life of W. Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 369.

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the most important of all subjects. But the scene is closed—for ever.”¹

And again, twenty years later, revisiting Walmer in 1825, in Lord Liverpool’s reign, for the first time since his visit in 1792, he recalled the place “ where I had been above thirty years ago, in poor Pitt’s time ”, and found the Castle much improved.²

Three weeks after the visit of Wilberforce, Lord Mornington—afterwards Lord Wellesley—perhaps the closest of Pitt’s intimate friends, also came over from Ramsgate, and found his host playing the part of the country gentleman in a fashion which some of his successors, notably Wellington and Granville, enthusiastically emulated at a later date.

“ *October 24th, 1792.* On Monday I dined at Walmer and was delighted with the situation ; above a hundred sail of ships were lying in the Downs, and the day was quite clear. . . . Yesterday I was at the turning out of a basketwork hare. The Minister and Long³ followed the hounds. I maintained a strong post on the high ground, but I was so much amused with the sight that I readily believe I shall become a hunter, in this county at least, where there are no leaps.”⁴

In this pleasant fashion, in the enjoyment of rural sports, and in the society of his intimate

¹ *Life of W. Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 245.

² *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 251.

³ Charles Long, at that time Joint-Secretary to the Treasury, and afterwards (1820) first Baron Farnborough. He was one of the most intimate members of Pitt’s “ set ”.

⁴ Letter to Lord Grenville, *Dropmore Papers* (Hist. MSS. Com.), vol. ii. p. 324.

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friends, passed the first autumn of the Prime Minister at Walmer. His elder brother and wife, Lord and Lady Chatham, were constantly with him; and in this or succeeding years his friends—in addition to those already named—Grenville, Dundas, Canning, Pretzman (afterwards Bishop Tomline), Windham, Camden, Mulgrave, Hawkesbury, Harrowby, Castlereagh and others are constantly found at his hospitable bachelor board.

But already the clouds of impending war were hurrying up the sky, and in a few months' time the Lord Warden found himself engaged in more serious pursuits. As the history of Pitt at Walmer during the next twelve years is to a very large extent the history of his endeavours to place the coast of Kent, of which he was now in official charge, in a state of preparation against an expected French invasion, and as this is a page of our national history which has only recently been elucidated with any completeness, it may be well to pause here for a moment and attempt to envisage the problem with which, both as First Minister of the Crown and as Lord Warden, he was called upon to deal.

From the declaration of war by France on February 1, 1793, to the battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805), the ambition of the French Government, whether that of the Republican junta, or of Bonaparte as First Consul, or of Napoleon as Emperor, never wavered: it was to humiliate and ultimately to destroy the power of England by launching an invading army against her shores. Some of these

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attempts were mere feints intended to distract our attention or engross our forces. On different occasions it was the East Coast, the South Coast, the Channel Islands, or Ireland that was threatened, and in some cases actually attacked. At intervals the vast ambitions of the Corsican declined to be bound by so narrow a horizon as the Straits of Dover and soared away to Eastern regions and Asiatic thrones ; frequently his genius and his armies were swept aside to European battle-grounds. But the policy and the aim were never abandoned : there were moments, notably in 1801, when they might have been achieved with triumphant success : that we escaped the danger was due to conditions of which Pitt was the main creator, though the result he did not live to see. The movement may be divided into several phases, in each of which we shall here follow the actions of the Lord Warden.

The first phase was that which preceded the appearance of Napoleon on the scene. Already at the end of 1792, when Pitt had just been appointed to the Cinque Ports, war was so inevitable that the Militia, raised by ballot, had been embodied ; and the estimates for 1793 allowed for an increase of the regular Army, the Militia and the Fencibles (who were regular troops, enlisted for home service for the duration of the war). In 1794 the Militia was still further increased, and a volunteer force of infantry and cavalry was projected by Pitt, the county to be the unit, with the Lord-Lieutenants in command, and the initial expenses to be borne by public subscription. Drills, parades, reviews

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became the order of the day ; and Pitt, who as Lord Warden was in the position of Lord-Lieutenant, set an example which others were proud to emulate.

At the end of 1792 the Dover Association, which had been originally formed in 1783, proposed to reconstitute itself as a military force to be drilled and called out for the defence of the town and harbour, and forwarded these proposals to Pitt.¹ The latter, at Walmer, devoted himself with unsparing energy to raising local volunteer corps at that and other places, and, with the double burden of the Treasury and the Exchequer upon his shoulders, laboured as though he had no other interest or occupation but that of a local squire. The Kentish coast in the neighbourhood of Deal was regarded as likely to be the first scene of attack. Accordingly two batteries were constructed on the shore to the north of Sandown Castle²—which was then standing ; a system of semaphore was established along the coast ; and barracks were begun at Walmer for the accommodation of troops.³

To the Lord Warden it was left to organise the movement for the raising and equipment of volunteers. In 1793 he promised a handsome donation for the purpose, and on April 24, 1794, a general deputation of the Cinque Ports and their Members met the Lord Warden at Dover Castle to confer

¹ Pitt MSS. No. 245, National Defence, Record Office, printed as Appendix i. to Wheeler and Bradley's *Napoleon and the Invasion of England* (1908), vol. ii. p. 341.

² One of these is still a coastguard station ; the other has disappeared.

³ These barracks were completed in 1795 and contained accommodation for 1100 infantry and a squadron of cavalry, as well as a 'regimental hospital.'

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with him on the subject. On entering the Castle, he was received with an artillery salute, and was attended by a Captain's guard and a Military Band. Pitt headed the subscription list with a donation (in addition to what he had already given) of a thousand pounds. The various Ports and Members contributed by an assessment, according to their means, and a total sum of over £6500 was secured. The force thus raised was "to be entirely voluntary, except on being actually called out to repel invasion, or suppress riots, in which case the whole body, which should march for either service, were to be under Military law"; it consisted of both horse and foot and was termed the Cinque Port Fencibles. On April 30, Letters of Service were issued to the cavalry portion of this force, commanded by Robert Banks Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and then the second Earl of Liverpool), who at a later date was to be Lord Warden and Prime Minister himself. On September 15, 1795, we hear of this force, together with the regular troops in the district, being reviewed by the Duke of York, who had recently commanded the English Army in Flanders, and who was attended on the ground by the Lord Warden and other persons of distinction.¹

While these preparations were proceeding, Pitt spent as much of his time at Walmer as he could spare from Parliamentary duties. But the records

¹ In the Revesby Collection made by the late Right Hon. E. Stanhope is a Copper Token, "Payable at Dover, 1794", with a profile bust of Pitt as Lord Warden on the obverse side. (This collection appears to have been dispersed.—ED.)

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of these years are fragmentary, and we are driven to think that the hard-worked Lord Warden can have found but little time for seaside recreation. On October 9, 1793, he writes to Addington :

“ I cannot bring myself to go many miles from town till I hear of the capture of Maubeuge, which I believe will be very soon.¹ If the account should reach us before next Tuesday, and all goes well in the interval I shall go for a few days to Walmer, in order to attend a harbour session at Dover.”²

Pitt was certainly at Walmer in the summer and autumn of 1794, for the household accounts of that period amounted to £458.³ In the summer of 1795 the Lord Warden was again in residence at the time when Admiral Duncan’s fleet was lying in the Downs ; and the correspondence of the latter contains an incident which is worthy of reproduction here :

“ On 16th and 17th of June, 1795, Admiral Cornwallis⁴ with five ships of the line and two frigates, executed his famous retreat up the Channel, during which he kept off thirteen French ships of

¹ This expectation was disappointed, for the Austrian Army under Prince Josias of Coburg, which was conducting the siege, was attacked and defeated a few days later at the battle of Wattignies (October 14-16) and compelled to retire.

² *Life of Addington*, vol. i. p. 10. The Lord Warden was then, as now, ex-officio chairman of the Dover Harbour Board. (This duty was removed when King George V., then Prince of Wales, was Lord Warden.—Ed.)

³ *William Pitt and the Great War*, by J. Holland Rose (London, 1911), p. 474.

⁴ This was Sir William Cornwallis, who afterwards commanded the Channel Fleet in 1801 and 1803-6. He was a younger brother of the first Marquis Cornwallis, Governor-General of India.

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the line and fourteen frigates, which in the end sheered off and left him unmolested. News of his isolation and probable capture had reached Walmer, and Mr. Pitt was very despondent.

“Admiral Duncan was present and scouted the idea of the capture of five British ships of war. ‘What,’ said Mr. Pitt, ‘do you think that against such odds they have a chance?’ ‘A chance, sir! Frenchmen do not yet know how to take a British ship!’

“Coming to dine a few days afterwards when the news of Cornwallis’s safety had been received, but had not arrived at Walmer, the Admiral on shaking hands with Mr. Pitt, said: ‘Give you joy, sir!’ ‘Joy, Admiral, what joy? Nothing is yet known of the fate of Cornwallis.’ On hearing the news, he said that the Admiral had taken a load off his mind and that he never sat down to dinner with a lighter heart.”¹

It was in this year (1795), according to Bishop Tomline in the unpublished fourth volume of his *Life of Pitt*,² that the gout which the latter inherited from his father first caused anxiety to Pitt and his friends, and induced him to consult Sir Walter Farquhar; and from this date the decline in his health which it will be our melancholy duty to follow may be said to have begun.

Pitt was again at Walmer in the winter recess of

¹ *Admiral Duncan*, by the Earl of Camperdown (London, 1898), p. 378.

² A chapter of this, in the possession of Mr. Pretyman of Orwell, was published by Lord Rosebery in the *Monthly Review*, August 1903.

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1796–97,¹ and also in the autumn of 1797, when a stream of important visitors passes in and out of the Castle. In September he lost his brother-in-law, Eliot, to whom he was devotedly attached. In the same month, Mornington, appointed to India, came down to Walmer to receive his final instructions from the Prime Minister, and Dundas (President of the Board of Control and Secretary for War) came also. Nearly forty years later, in a letter to the editor of the *Quarterly Review*² on “Mr. Pitt in Private Life”, Lord Mornington, then in his seventy-seventh year, recalled the experience :

“ Pitt was very fond of exercise on horseback, and when in the country frequently joined the hounds of his neighbourhood, both at Holwood³ and Walmer Castle. At the latter place he lived most hospitably, entertaining all his neighbours, as well as the officers of the neighbouring garrisons and of the ships in the Downs ; and he was most attentive to his duties of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which called him frequently to Dover and sometimes to the other ports.

“ In the year 1797 I was appointed Governor-General of India, and in the month of September I went to Walmer Castle to meet Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas and to receive my last instructions. I found Mr. Pitt in the highest spirits, entertaining

¹ *Life of Addington*, vol. i. p. 182.

² Vol. Ivii. p. 490. The letter was dated “ November 22, 1836 ”.

³ The villa near Bromley in Kent, which Pitt had bought, together with two hundred acres of land (a total that he subsequently doubled), in 1785, but was compelled to sell owing to his impoverished means, in 1801. It was in 1904 the residence of the Dowager Countess of Derby.

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officers and county gentlemen with his usual hospitality. Among others Admiral Duncan was his constant and favourite guest. His fleet was in the Downs, preparing for the memorable victory of Camperdown. The Admiral was a lively and jovial companion, and seemed quite delighted with Mr. Pitt's society.”

Lord Mornington, who had a pretty talent for verse, whether Latin or English, and who was always being turned on, either by his friends or by himself, to compose poetical tributes, wrote a poem, while at Walmer on this occasion, about the crimes of the French Revolution, which appeared, after his departure for India, in the *Anti-Jacobin* of December 18, 1797.¹ The succeeding number of December 25 contained an English translation of Mornington’s lines by Lord Morpeth, afterwards Earl of Carlisle.²

Just before he sailed (November 7) Mornington was also urged by Pitt to write, in memory of the Walmer reunion, a ballad in honour of Lord Duncan, to whom a banquet was given by the East India Company in London in the last week of October, to commemorate his return from the victory of Camperdown (October 11). The poem was sung at the dinner with great enthusiasm and is printed in Pearce’s *Life of Wellesley*.³

¹ The Latin poem is printed in the selection of Lord Wellesley’s Latin verses entitled *Primitiae et Reliquiae*, and also in Pearce’s *Life and Correspondence of Lord Wellesley* (1840), vol. i. pp. 130-31.

² This translation is printed by Pearce as an appendix to vol. i. p. 409. It ends with the eulogistic reference to Duncan, who had in the meantime won the victory of Camperdown.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 130.

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The dramatic circumstances in which the news of Duncan's great victory reached Pitt at Walmer have been preserved in a letter written some years later, June 11, 1809, to a Mr. John Clerk, author of a work on "Naval Tactics", by a friend of Pitt named John Fordyce :

" I happened to be down at Walmer Castle with Mr. Pitt at the time of Lord Duncan's great battle off the coast of Holland. Mr. and Mrs. Dundas were living with him at the same time. We were sitting drinking a glass of wine, I remember, when a man, whose name I do not at present recollect, a smuggler, came rather abruptly into the room, and told us he had just come on shore from his vessel, returning from the coast of Holland, where he had witnessed the great victory gained by Lord Duncan." ¹

The smuggler was followed in a few days' time by the Admiral himself. On October 18 his flagship, the *Venerable*, cast anchor in the Downs, and on October 19 Duncan struck his flag, landed at Margate and went at once to visit Pitt at Walmer. Let Pitt describe the meeting (in a letter to his mother of October 22).

" Lord Duncan joined us very opportunely on Friday at Dover Castle, where we had gone the day before to be present at a *feu de joie* in honour of his victory. Our Admirals (Hood and Duncan) leave us to-morrow, but we shall probably stay here till

¹ *Admiral Duncan*, by the Earl of Camperdown, p. 241.

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the end of the week, and shall probably visit the fleet on our way back to-morrow se'nnight, when the King intends to go on board.”¹

Earlier in this year (1797) Pitt had had the first of the serious attacks, the result of overwork and anxiety,² of a not too strong constitution, and of carelessness in his own methods of life, which had seriously alarmed his friends. The autumn, as we have seen, found him much improved in health. On October 11, the day of the victory of Camperdown, he wrote to Addington :

“ I am just returned from a very fine lounging ride, which pretended to be called shooting ; and I am already so much the better for the continuance of Farquhar’s³ prcscription, and (what is perhaps more effectual) for the air of Walmer that I will not despair of having little or no occasion to say anything about myself.”⁴

Mornington, a few days later, wrote to Addington, after the visit to Walmer :

“ Pitt did not disguise to me the state of his health, and I contributed to prevail on him to see

¹ *Life of Pitt*, vol. iii. p. 73.

² The year 1797, which had opened brilliantly with the victory of St. Vincent (Feb. 14), has been described as the darkest in British history. In April Austria concluded peace with France and left England to fight alone. In the same month occurred the mutinies of the Fleet at Spithead and the Nore, which afterwards spread all over the world. The funds fell to the lowest recorded point ; famine threatened ; civil war raged in Ireland, and Pitt was grossly insulted in the streets of London.

³ Sir Walter Farquhar, his physician.

⁴ *Life of Addington*, vol. i. p. 192.



THE CORRIDOR FROM UNDER THE DOME

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Farquhar, who has put him on a course of medicine from which he has derived much improvement, and he went to Walmer quite a different man.”¹

The second phase of the Invasion of England campaign opened with the appointment of Napoleon by the Directory to the command of the “Army of England”, as it was grandiloquently called, on October 26, 1797. Though the young General was not yet the terror to our countrymen that he presently became, the seriousness of his preparations excited grave alarm on this side of the Channel. The British forces—Regulars, Militia, Fencibles, Yeomanry, Volunteers, Supplementary Militia, Artillery and Marines—numbered nearly 230,000 men; but their organisation, discipline and armament were most imperfect. The Militia was raised from 42,000 to a nominal strength of 100,000 men by the institution of the Supplementary Militia, but the drain on this force for the Regular Army soon brought down its figures. A Defence of the Realm Act was passed in April 1798, organising the civil population in *posse comitatus*, and resort was had to every variety of volunteer effort, stimulated by the subscriptions of wealthy men. Beacons, watch-houses, and semaphore telegraphs sprang up again along the coast, and everywhere was drilling and marching of troops.

In February Bonaparte was on the opposite coasts of Flanders and France, engaged in a tour of inspection, and ordering with frenzied haste

¹ *Life of Addington*, vol. i. p. 196.

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flat-bottomed boats (as transports), pinnaces, gun-boats and fishing-smacks. But his shrewd eye saw that without command of the sea he could make no successful effort against Great Britain, and that his existing means were quite inadequate for the purpose. At once his volatile mind flitted elsewhere ; and in May 1798 his fleet sailed from Toulon for Egypt. On August 1 Nelson fought and won the battle of the Nile, and for the moment all danger of an invasion of England was suspended, and the country could afford to breathe again.

Pitt was at Walmer when the news of the victory of the Nile first reached the country in a very inconclusive form. From there he wrote to Rose on August 10 :

“ I have received French newspapers of the 7th and 8th containing vague reports of an action between Nelson and Buonaparte and some pretending that the latter had been victorious. They serve only to confirm the belief that something has happened ; but it may still be some time before we have any authentic account, though they will probably not be long able to disguise entirely the result, even in France.”¹

To this period belongs an interesting cartoon of

¹ *Diaries of the Right Hon. George Rose*, vol. i. p. 216. Rose had been Secretary to the Treasury, 1784 to 1801, and was one of Pitt’s most intimate friends, though from time to time the latter treated him with some *froideur*. Rose, however, did not fare badly, for in 1797 his joint offices of Secretary to the Treasury, Clerk to the House of Lords and Master of the Pleas—all of which he owed to Pitt—brought him in, with certain other emoluments, a clear £10,000 a year (*Glenbervie Journals*, p. 210). He was the grandfather of Sir Hugh Rose, the first Lord Strathnairn (*Rose*, vol. i. p. 425).

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Pitt (brought out by S. W. Fores in May 1798) as “The Royal Soldier in His Majesty’s Service”, with an imbecile inscription of the type that seems to have had irresistible charms for the public mind of that day :

He would be a soldier, the sweet Willy O.
The first of all swains
That gladdened the plains.

All nature obeyed him, the sweet Willy O.

Pitt is represented in profile, very lean and scraggy, wearing a Volunteer uniform and cocked hat, and standing to attention with a musket to his shoulder. He has a white wig, a very pointed nose, and a very purple complexion.

I do not know whether it is in connection with this, or with the later war scare of 1803–4, that the absurd story has been circulated that Pitt enlisted as a private in one or other of the local Corps of Volunteers, and worked his way up from the ranks. A writer in the *Dover Express* of September 4, 1808, assigns the incident to the Dover Volunteers. A more reputable authority has said :

“ Mr. Pitt himself was enrolled as a Private of the Infantry division of the Cinque Ports Fencibles. During the Lord Wardenship of the Duke of Wellington, two young gentlemen, who were among the visitors at Walmer Castle, one wet day discovered in some old lumber they were amusing themselves by closely examining in one of the bastions of the old Castle, a small regimental tin canteen which had formed part of the kit of a private

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in the Infantry Division of the Royal Cinque Ports Fencibles, and on looking closer they found engraved on it the name of the former owner, ‘ Private William Pitt ’. They at once carried this interesting relic to the Duke, who ordered it to be carefully preserved in the Castle, where I believe it yet remains.”¹

If the Duke really drew the suggested inference, he must have been a very credulous person, for it is quite certain that Pitt never acted in the manner suggested, and that the William Pitt referred to must have been a private soldier who happened to bear the same name as the great Commoner. Mr. Elvin says in his *Records of Walmer*, p. 250, that the parish registers of Walmer record the deaths of two William Pitts in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Freed for the moment from the scare of invasion, the problem to which Ministers now turned was that of providing for the Regular Army for service abroad ; and legislation was passed in 1798 offering large bounties to induce men from the Militia to enlist in the line. An expedition was planned for the reconquest of Holland in 1799, and Pitt and Dundas, who have been satirically described as “ the strategists of the Cabinet ”, were much at Walmer in the summer of 1799, arranging for the despatch of this force, under Sir Ralph Abercromby.

It was at this time that Sir John Moore, then a Major-General, and already known for his services in Corsica and the West Indies, made that acquaint-

¹ *Memorials of the Goodwin Sands*, by G. B. Gattie, London, 1890. The relic was not in the Castle in my day.

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ance with Pitt which was to develop into so warm an intimacy a few years later. Moore, who was only two years junior to Pitt, wrote in his Diary on August 14, 1799 :

“ On Sunday forenoon I went over to Deal where I was invited to dine at Walmer Castle with Mr. Pitt and Dundas. They appeared to be in very good spirits, and only anxious for our departure. The original destination of the expedition was the island of Walcheren : this has since been altered ; Goeree and Voorne are now the objects.”¹

When Abercromby had effected a successful landing at the mouth of the Meuse, Pitt and Dundas announced that they would go over from Walmer in the first week in September to Barham Downs near Canterbury, where the new recruits were assembling, in order to witness a march past and the firing of a *feu de joie*. The grant of a large bounty was followed by the usual result. “ Not more than one man in twenty was sober, and the *feu de joie* was, in consequence, so outrageously jubilant that it was judged prudent to dismiss the troops without venturing a march past.”² A few days later the Duke of York went out to Holland as Commander-in-Chief, taking as one of his General Officers and Members of the War Council Pitt’s elder brother, Lord Chatham, who was quite destitute of military genius, or even capacity. The

¹ *Diary of Sir John Moore*, edited by General Sir F. Maurice (1904), vol. i. p. 340.

² *History of the British Army*, by Hon. J. Fortescue (1906), vol. iv. p. 659.

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further fortunes of the campaign of the Helder need not be followed here. The expedition returned in October, an inglorious failure.

Throughout this period Pitt had been liable to attacks of gout. In the spring of 1799 we hear of him in poor health and low spirits, and desisting altogether from the House of Commons. In the late autumn of the same year he goes to stay with Addington at Woodley in Berkshire,¹ and we do not hear of him again at Walmer for some time. In the summer of 1800 (August 19) he writes to Addington that he has "no leisure for his annual flight" thither; and it was not till the spring of 1801²—when he had resigned over the question of Catholic Emancipation and for the first time for nearly eighteen years found himself once more a free man—that he could think once more of the peace and recreation of the Kentish seaside. Even so he did not get down to Walmer till the autumn of the year.

Resignation meant to Pitt much more than a temporary retirement from the Front Bench. To a man so utterly improvident, and so hopelessly embarrassed, it was tantamount to financial ruin. In the twinkling of an eye the Lord Wardenship

¹ *Diaries of Rose*, vol. i. pp. 212-13.

² In the different *Lives of Pitt* he is variously said to have resigned in January, February and March 1801. The explanation is that his first letter of resignation was written to the King on January 31. The King replied accepting on February 5. Then followed an interval of a fortnight (February 18 to March 6) during which the King was incapacitated by mental derangement, before the offices had changed hands, and Pitt hesitated as to whether he should or should not rejoin. Then the King recovered, and the change of ministry was completed on March 14.

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had become the sole financial resource of the ex-Minister.¹ By his resignation he had forfeited not merely the £7500 which he had drawn for so long (and spent so prodigally) as the salary of his two Cabinet Offices, but also his London residence in Downing Street²; and the Cinque Ports alone remained. His debts amounted to nearly £46,000,³ and his creditors threatened to seize his horses, carriages and furniture either at Holwood or Walmer. Acting upon the advice of his friends and under the impulse of sheer necessity, the unfortunate Minister began by parting with Holwood; he also sold not only his presentation caskets, miniatures and snuff-boxes (for £4000), but his reversionary interests. The first of these was in the possession of £3000 a year⁴ for three lives, which had been given to his mother with a peerage on her husband's resignation in 1761, and which would have come to him had his elder brother predeceased him without issue; the second was in the Parliamentary Grant of £4000 per annum, which had been voted by Parliament on the death of Chatham, to be attached to the Earldom for ever, and which in the same contingency might also have come to him.

¹ Bishop Tomline wrote to Rose on July 28, 1801: "I cannot bear the idea of his having less than his Cinque Ports to live upon, or at least £2500 a year. He cannot live upon less with any degree of comfort" (*Rose*, vol. i. p. 417).

² In place of it he rented a small furnished house in Park Place, St. James, from which he afterwards moved to York Place, near Portman Square.

³ The details are given by Rose, vol. i. p. 428.

⁴ This is the sum given by Bishop Tomline in the unpublished volume of his *Life of Pitt*. But in a letter to Rose of August 14, 1801 (*Diaries*, vol. i. p. 426), he spoke of it as £2000 a year, and of Soane's office having only made for it the "Jewish offer" of £19,000.

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Even the sums thus raised, however, were wholly insufficient, and his intimate friends accordingly came to the rescue with a loan of £12,000, which he never had the means to repay.

Bishop Tomline says that Pitt's first intention was to reside for the rest of his life at Walmer. But it was doubtful whether, even with the reduced establishment which he henceforward maintained, this would not be beyond his means; and a little later we find the same authority stating, in a letter to Rose,¹ August 7, 1801, that among the many expedients that had been discussed by Pitt's friends in this summer was the sale of a part of the Cinque Ports, *i.e.* presumably the commutation of a portion of his official salary as Lord Warden.²

The first glimpse of the retired Minister in holiday mood comes in a letter from that erratic and impetuous figure who was to play so large a part in the few remaining years of his life, his niece, Hester Stanhope. This brilliant but terrifying young lady had in the previous year left the family roof-tree at Chevening, from inability to tolerate existence any longer with that talented but impossible crank, her father,³ and had gone to live with her aged grandmother, the first Lady Chatham, at Burton Pynsent in Somersetshire. She had then successfully contrived the escape of her eldest brother, Lord Mahon, from the same

¹ *Diaries of Rose*, vol. i. p. 353.

² Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iii. p. 347.

³ Charles, third Earl of Stanhope (1753–1816), known as "Citizen Stanhope", who had married Pitt's sister Hester in 1774. She had died in 1780.

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domestic prison-house in January 1801. Having appealed for approval of this step to her uncle, William Pitt, whom she already regarded with a passionate veneration, she wrote on April 19 to her most intimate correspondent, Mr. F. J. Jackson —presently to be appointed Minister at Berlin— that Pitt had approved, and she added :

“ He likewise appears to be so happy and well ; for he says that what with the luxury of living with his friends and the improvement in public affairs, his only apprehension will be that of growing too fat for horseman’s weight, at least as a companion in my rides. I certainly shall do much wiser to keep to my intention of seeing a good deal of him this summer than allow myself to be pitched into the dissipation of a camp, instead of enjoying his society, from which I shall derive much more rational pleasure and more profit. How instinct taught me to love the ‘ Great Man ’ ! and, if I had not kept sight of him at a *distance*, what would have become of us all ? ”¹

Pitt, as has been said, did not return to Walmer till the late autumn, and, in the course of the summer, he seems to have contemplated offering the Castle as a residence for the King, who was again partially deranged, with Deal Castle as quarters for the Royal suite. But this idea, which was suggested as an alternative to the noise and crowds of Weymouth, was not pursued.²

¹ *Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by the Duchess of Cleveland (1914), p. 27.

² *Diaries of Rose*, vol. i. p. 353.

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In 1801, with the return of Napoleon from the campaign of Marengo, the third phase of the French invasion proper against England had commenced. The preparations at Boulogne and along the Flemish coast were resumed—probably rather as a feint than with any serious intention. La Touche Fréville, the one French admiral of conspicuous ability, was placed in command of the flotilla of gun-boats that was again ordered by Napoleon : and once more England was in alarm. The efforts of two years earlier had died down : nearly every trained soldier had been sent to the Egyptian campaign under Abercromby ; the Fencibles had been in great part disembodied ; the Volunteer Cavalry, started in 1796, had ceased to exist ; the Volunteer enthusiasm had subsided, and the force existed on paper rather than in life. There was infinite confusion and overlapping of regiments for home service, for European service, for general service ; the spirit of the nation was sluggish ; and above all, Addington, the new Minister, was bent on peace. In January 1801 there were less than 200,000 armed men in the British Isles, and in February the trepidation of the Government had been indicated by the famous Memorandum of instructions to generals and others in the event of invasion, issued by the Royal Commander-in-Chief.¹ Addington was compelled to offer some show of adherence to the war policy of his predecessor, and to thwart the enemy's designs Nelson

¹ Wheeler and Broadley : *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. i. pp. 165-79.

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was appointed to a command extending from the coasts of Suffolk to those of Sussex. He addressed a Memorandum to the Admiralty on July 25, 1801, on the prospects of invasion ;¹ and on August 4 and August 15 made two unsuccessful attacks upon the French flotilla outside the harbour of Boulogne.

It was during this period that Nelson, on his ship, the *Amazon*, found himself for a little over two months in the Downs. The episode is of importance to this narrative, because it brought together for a brief moment these two great and famous figures : the Admiral and the Lord Warden, and in so doing has furnished the basis for a copious and long-lived mythology which it seems desirable in the interests of historical accuracy to expose.

When I went to Walmer as Lord Warden in 1905, I found a brass plate affixed to the wall of a recess in the corner of the Drawing-Room of the Castle, to the effect that this was the spot where Pitt and Nelson had conferred at the period of which we are now speaking. There was, further, a bedroom in the Castle labelled the Nelson Room (for no better real reason than that there was a tallboy chest of drawers in it with the inscription : “Sacred to Nelson, Trafalgar”, stamped on the brass escutcheon of the locks), in which the hero was declared to have slept ; and, finally, there is no historian of the Castle or the Cinque Ports who has not reiterated with uncritical monotony the tale of the frequent meetings and colloquies between

¹ *Dispatches and Letters of Nelson*, vol. iv. pp. 425-28.

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the two great men.¹ Apart from the fact that in Pitt's day the recess was not a part at all of the Drawing-Room, where we might expect a visiting Admiral to have been received, but was the end of a narrow slip, hardly worthy of the name of an apartment (which was not thrown into the larger room till seventy years later), the evidence against any such meetings, to be derived from Nelson's voluminous and almost daily correspondence with Lady Hamilton, is so strong as to be absolutely conclusive. Nelson, who detested his stay in the Downs and the uncongenial task which had been imposed upon him by the Admiralty, and who further was in bad health, constantly seasick and frequently in a bad temper, evinces no desire to do more than perform the obligatory courtesies to Pitt, who was now out of office, and in no sense his master. These are his successive explanations or explosions to the fair Emma, whom, by the way, he induced to come down to Deal for the month of September with her complaisant husband, in order to share his company, and soothe his irritation :

“ *August 17* ” (before the Hamiltons had arrived).
“ Mr Pitt is coming to Walmer Castle. If he asks me to dinner, I shall go to Sandwich.

“ *October 6* ” (after the Hamiltons had gone). “ If

¹ Rev. C. R. Elvin's *Records of Walmer*, p. 251. “ During part of the time embraced by these two alarms of invasion (*i.e.* 1801–4) Nelson lay in the Downs ready for action, and many an interview took place between him and Pitt at Walmer Castle.” Even Professor Montague Burrows, the learned historian of the Cinque Ports, gave currency to the popular legend : “ It was at Walmer Castle that Pitt often took counsel with Nelson when he landed from his flagship in the Downs ” (p. 248).

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the weather is moderate I shall call on Billy Pitt to-morrow, as they say he is expected to-day. I intend to land at Walmer Castle." (This intention was frustrated by the occurrence of extremely bad weather.)

"*October 11.* I see Billy Pitt has arrived, as the colours are hoisted. I will see him before I leave the station; he may perhaps be useful to me one day or the other.

"*October 12.* This being a very fine morning and smooth beach, I went with Sutton and Bedford and landed at Walmer, but found Billy fast asleep,¹ so left my card.

"*October 13.* Mr Pitt has just been on board (*i.e.* of the *Amazon*) and he thinks it very hard to keep me now all is over. He asked me to dine at Walmer; but I refused. I will dine nowhere till I dine with you and Sir William.²

"*October 17.* I shall not dine with Pitt, as Mr and Mrs Long are staying there. Not that I ever saw her in my life, nor care if I never do.

"*October 18.* The Lutwidges" (he was the Admiral in command ashore) "dined with Billy Pitt to-day, or rather with Mr Long, for Pitt does not keep house in appearance, although he asked me to come and see him; and that I shall do, out of respect for a great man, although he never did anything for me or my relations.

¹ An interesting confirmation of the changed habits and declining health of Pitt, of which his friends complained sadly at this date, and of which mention will be made later in the text.

² The original of the letter, which concludes, "I am for ever, my dearest only friend, N. and B.", is in the Alfred Morrison Collection (vol. v. p. 15).

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"*October 19.* Thursday I hope will be a fine day. I shall call on Mr Pitt, make my visit to the hospital, and get off early Friday morning."

On the 22nd Nelson finally got away from the Downs, and the correspondence, for the time being, ends. Whether he succeeded or not in paying his final call on the Lord Warden, and whether he found him awake or sleeping, does not transpire. From the letters, however, it is clear that neither did the frequent and friendly colloquies between these two celebrated men take place, nor did Nelson dine or sleep in the Nelson Room at the Castle. In fact, the entire structure of amiable legend collapses.¹ Only once again did Nelson lie in the Downs, and that

¹ A similar myth has arisen about the only other occasion on which Pitt and Nelson are known to have met. There was a famous meeting between a subsequent Lord Warden, the Duke of Wellington, and Nelson—the only time that these two celebrated persons were in the same room—on September 11 or 12, 1805, when both were waiting in Downing Street in the ante-room of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and War (Lord Castlereagh). An account of the meeting was given by the Duke to Croker at Walmer on October 1, 1834, and is repeated by Croker in his *Diaries* (vol. ii. p. 234). Dr. J. Holland Rose (*William Pitt and the Great War*, p. 533) assumes that Pitt was the Minister upon whom Nelson and Sir Arthur Wellesley had simultaneously called, or that he was present at the interview, and paints a dramatic picture of the three heroes in accidental but happy juxtaposition. Unfortunately the story is without foundation. Nelson had, however, had a meeting with Pitt in the company of Castlereagh about three weeks earlier, on August 23, 1805 (Mahon's *Life of Nelson*, vol. ii. p. 323). Whether this was the last interview between the great sailor and the great statesman is not clear. Anyhow it was of the last meeting between them that Mr. Matcham, a nephew of Lord Nelson, wrote an account in a letter to *The Times* of November 6, 1861, as he had heard it from his uncle. "Nelson, asked how he had been received, replied he had every reason to be gratified with his reception, and concluded with animation : 'Mr. Pitt, when I rose to go, left the room with me, and attended me to the carriage'." Cf. Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iv. p. 329. Thus did Pitt, the Prime Minister, atone for Billy Pitt, the Lord Warden.

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was four years later, in December 1805. But on this occasion the hero railed no more at the Admiralty, nor penned sweet compliments to his mistress, nor went he ashore to pay his respects to the slumbering Lord Warden. His dead body lay on the *Victory*, riding at anchor for three days—December 16-19—in the Downs under a north-east gale. At the self-same time the Lord Warden was lying at Bath, reeling under the news of Austerlitz, and sickening to his death. Two months later Pitt died. Not more than six weeks separated the funeral processions to St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey.

To resume : Pitt did not himself spend much more of the autumn of 1801 at Walmer. Writing to Lord Grenville on October 25, as he was leaving, he said :

“ I pass my time so pleasantly in hunting and shooting, and found myself so much the better for sea-air, that I have been tempted to stay as long as I could at Walmer.”¹

We hear of him again at the Castle on and off during the winter²; and in the early spring of 1802 he appears to have settled there for good.

At Walmer Pitt heard the news of the signature of the illusory Peace of Amiens on March 27, 1802. From that date onwards till May 1803 he did not

¹ *Dropmore Papers*, vol. vii. p. 67.

² Rose's *Diaries*, vol. i. p. 445. Pitt was at Walmer, February 9-16, when he returned to Park Place. But he was back again on February 24, when we find him writing to Lord Mulgrave (afterwards Duke of Buckingham) that he had had “ a slight return of billious attacks followed by a little salutary gout ”, but was benefiting by the air and exercise (*Memoirs of R. P. Ward* (1850), vol. i. p. 121).

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re-enter the House of Commons. At Walmer also he received (in Lord Rosebery's language) "the greatest compliment that has ever been paid to an English statesman"—in the passing by an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons on May 7 of the Resolution "That the Right Honourable William Pitt has rendered great and important services to his country, and especially deserved the gratitude of this House". He was at Walmer when there were read out to a company of nearly nine hundred at the banquet given on his birthday, May 28, in the Merchant Taylor Hall, the famous verses, composed by his devoted pupil and adherent, Canning, on "The Pilot that weathered the Storm".

Pitt was still on the friendliest terms with his successor, and on June 7 wrote to him as follows—over the signature "Ever affectionately yours, W. P." :

"The air I am breathing and the life I am leading are everything that is healthy, and I am gaining ground every day ; but in doing so, I discover how much more I had lost than I was aware of."¹

On the same day he wrote to Rose :

"This air and the quiet retirement which I have been enjoying have been of great use to me. I mean to remain here till quite the end of the week, and am not without hopes of stealing another eight or ten days afterwards, before the dissolution, which, I imagine, we may expect somewhere about the 24th or 25th."²

¹ *Life of Addington*, vol. ii. p. 70.

² *Rose's Diaries*, vol. i. p. 447.

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This further holiday he did secure, for on June 26 he writes to Addington :

“ I am not only very much better but (as it is impossible not to be after three weeks here) for the present at least perfectly well.” ¹

The world did not altogether share his hopes. We find a letter from Sir Gilbert Elliot (afterwards first Earl of Minto and Governor-General of India), dated June 3rd, 1802 :

“ Pitt has been very ill and is gone to Walmer for his health, where, though better, people are uneasy about him. It seemed like a return of his old complaint. Dundas says that he persists in foreswearing public life, and has still as much as ever the appearance of being perfectly in earnest.” ²

On July 10 he invites Rose to come and pay him a visit, arriving by sea, and promises to return the compliment.

“ I hope to find an opportunity of making a coasting voyage, and returning your visit in the course of the summer. If your sons are with you when you embark, I shall be very glad if it suits them to be of your party. I am going on extremely well, and expect to pass muster as a stout and able-bodied seaman by the time I see you.” ³

When the autumn comes round he resumes his partridge shooting, and is full of a farm that he has

¹ *Life of Addington*, vol. ii. p. 71.

² *Life and Letters of Lord Minto* (1874), vol. iii. p. 251.

³ Rose's *Diaries*, vol. i. p. 448.

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taken near Walmer, and of the alterations that he is effecting in the Castle and grounds. To Dundas he writes on September 5 :

“ I have been gaining a great deal of health and strength by riding and sailing ; and am delighted more than ever with my residence here. I am just now in the midst of partridge shooting ; and am preparing to enter on a beautiful farm which I have taken in the neighbourhood, and which will furnish me with constant occupation till Parliament meets.”¹

To Addington, who is holidaying at Eastbourne, he writes on the same day :

“ I should be very glad to show you all the improvements of this place both in beauty and comfort. . . . I am extremely well, and enjoying very good shooting, which, in a few weeks I shall exchange for the management of a *large farm*, which I am just preparing to take possession of, and which (if Parliament fortunately can be deferred till after Christmas) will keep me constantly employed for the remainder of the year, or till the *pacificator of Europe* takes it into his head to send an army from the opposite coast to revenge himself for some newspaper paragraph.”²

These innocent and high-spirited utterances to his friends have an interest apart from the light that they shed upon the life of the Minister in

¹ Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iii. p. 391.

² *Life of Addington*, vol. ii. p. 75.



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retreat; for although his activities, public and private, were before long resumed with apparently undiminished vigour, they really represent the last energies of a youth and strength already crumbling to decay, and are the prelude to a period when physique and faculties both show signs of exhaustion, and hold out signals of the not distant end. On September 13, within a week of his sanguine bulletins to his friends, we find him writing to Sir Walter Farquhar, who was at Ramsgate :

“ I have been suffering severely from repeated sickness, and the impossibility of retaining almost any food in my stomach, and the symptoms are such that I do not at all know how to proceed. I am therefore very anxious to see you and receive your directions as early as possible, as I do not feel that things are going at all right.”¹

On September 17 he writes a letter speaking of his illness as only slight, and as “ brought on partly by a little over-exercise in shooting ”. It is to be feared that this explanation hardly represented the facts ; and that, though the gout from which Pitt suffered was in the main a hereditary ailment, the nausea and bile which caused so much distress, and from which he was henceforward so frequent a sufferer, were attributable rather to habits too long formed and too carelessly indulged in to admit of expiation on the threshold of middle life.

Farquhar upon his arrival found his patient worse

¹ Stanhope’s *Miscellanies*, Second Series (London, 1872), p. 65.

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than he had expected—there is no doubt that for some hours his life was in imminent danger :

“ The alarming symptoms, it is true, did not last very long ; but minutes in such a situation I found long hours. The day is our own now, and the last battle proves that the mainsprings are good.”

The doctor’s prescriptions proved, as he said, efficacious ; and on September 19 Pitt writes to Bishop Tomline :

“ My progress since Friday (Sept. 17) has been favourable and as rapid as, after being so much reduced, I could possibly expect. My complaint has totally left me, my appetite and strength are returning, and I find myself able yesterday and to-day to take sauntering rides without fatigue, and to enjoy this return of summer.”¹

He adds that Farquhar is going to send him to Bath, which indeed he did at the end of the next month, seeing Addington (with whom he had not yet quarrelled) in London on the way.²

At this period, and while Pitt is still recovering, there appears upon the scene for the first time at Walmer the eccentric and audacious girl whom the bachelor statesman was a year later to place at the head of his table. On this occasion she was on her way to the Continent with her friends, the Egertons. Arriving at Walmer on September 16, she stayed a week with her uncle, of whom she thus

¹ *Pitt*, by Lord Ashbourne (1898), p. 342.

² Rose’s *Diaries*, vol. i. p. 485.

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reports in an exceedingly characteristic ebullition to Mr. Jackson on September 21 :

“ The first thing I must say is that, thank God ! my dear uncle is quite recovered, and, if he was to be ill, perhaps my having the opportunity of showing him I have talents as a nurse is better than his having had to nurse himself. I am enchanted with everything here. I have never seen the face of a woman till to-day. Charming ! Nothing but pleasant men.”¹

Among the pleasant men whom Lady Hester encountered at Walmer was George Canning, who, after a temporary estrangement from Pitt during the early part of the Addington Administration, had resumed intercourse with his beloved patron, had written “ The Pilot that weathered the Storm ”, and was bent upon getting Pitt back into office. Three years before, in 1799, Canning, then Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had met for the first time at Walmer, his future wife, Miss Joan Scott, daughter of General John Scott of Balcomie.² Joan was at that time twenty-two years of age and heiress to a fortune of £80,000. Canning had courted and won her, and they were married on July 8, 1800. The couple now came on their first visit as a married pair to Walmer.

Ever since his first residence at the Castle, Pitt had supplemented its too scanty accommodation

¹ *Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by the Duchess of Cleveland, p. 37.

² *Canning and His Friends*, edited by Captain Bagot (London, 1809), vol. i. pp. 153, 159.

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by renting a small house at the entrance to the Castle grounds from the village, which belonged to the Lord of the Manor, Mr. G. Leith. This cottage was afterwards used for a similar purpose both by Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington, and took from the former the name Liverpool House—which it still bears.¹ It had been lent by Pitt as far back as 1796 to his niece, Lady Griselda Stanhope, the younger sister of Hester, who had fled from her uncongenial home in that year. Four years later Pitt had found her a husband in Mr. John Tekell, an officer in the 15th Light Dragoons.² Lady Hester told Dr. Meryon forty years later, at Djoun in the Lebanon, that Pitt was in the habit of sending his younger guests, irrespective of rank, to lodge in the cottage.

“ If a respectable commoner, advanced in years, and a young duke arrived at the same time, and

¹ I have found some difficulty in ascertaining the exact conditions under which this cottage was held. Lord Stanhope and other authorities who should have been familiar with the conditions always described the cottage as having been leased to Pitt ; and among the possessions of Lady Hester Stanhope which she left behind in the custody of her half-brother, James Stanhope, when she left England in February 1810, never to return, was a paper-covered trunk, one of the contents of which was a portfolio “ containing lease of Mr. Pitt’s Cottage ” (*Lady Hester Stanhope*, by F. Hamel, 1913, p. 326). On the other hand, local enquiries show that the house was purchased by Pitt in 1793, and sold after his death by his brother and heir, Lord Chatham, in 1806. When sold, it was described as “ newly erected ”, a phrase that suggests that the cottage had been reconstructed and much enlarged by Pitt. G. Leith, the Lord of the Manor, bought it, or bought it back, in 1806, and in 1812 sold it to Pitt’s successor at Walmer, the Earl of Liverpool, who left it to his widow. In 1829 it was again conveyed to Leith ; and in 1831, in a conveyance to another member of the Leith family, the property is described as Liverpool House—a name it has ever since borne. The probability is that Pitt first rented and then acquired the house.

² Pitt, by Lord Ashbourne, pp. 11 and 341.

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there happened to be but one room vacant in the Castle, he would be sure to assign it to the senior ; for it is better (he would say) that these young Lords should walk home on a rainy night than old men ; they can bear it more easily.”¹

In 1804 he lent the cottage to his nephew, Lord Mahon (Hester’s brother), and his recently married wife (daughter of Lord Carrington), and there in January 1805 their eldest son, afterwards fifth Earl Stanhope, the historian and biographer of Pitt, was born in January 1805. It was to this almost historic though modest abode that Canning and his wife came down with their son, George (who died on the threshold of manhood in 1820), for a few weeks in the autumn of 1802.

There Canning pleaded earnestly with Pitt to take office again and release “the Doctor” from a burden for which both the older and the younger statesmen now knew him to be quite unfitted. Writing from Walmer to his intimate friend, John Hookham Frere, on October 5, Canning said :

“ Whatever the result as to this great object, I am on other accounts most happy indeed that I have come here. I have had opportunities of quiet comfortable uninterrupted conversations, such as for two years past I have desiderated in vain ; I have had the satisfaction, after that two years’ interval filled as it has been with the most unpleasant events, and with consequent differences of conduct and opinion, of finding no change in Pitt,

¹ *Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope* (London, 1845), vol. ii. p. 72.

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no diminution of cordiality or confidence, and a gradual but I think growing approximation of sentiments in regard both to persons and things ; for which I thank Bonaparte, and by which I am almost reconciled to the Doctor's misconduct and folly. It has been an addition to my satisfaction on these accounts that I think my being here at this time may be of some use and comfort to Pitt. He was very very ill when we arrived here about the middle of last month. For one day, if not longer, his life was certainly in danger. God be thanked, all danger and all serious cause for alarm is quite at an end.”¹

In October Grenville also came down to Walmer to discuss the political situation with Pitt.

It was during this autumn that the Lord Warden found a welcome use of his prerogatives in conferring upon his friend Robert Smith the banker, whom he had already raised to the Peerage as Lord Carrington in 1796, the Captaincy of Deal Castle—then as now in the gift of the Lord Warden ; and the Lieutenancy of Dover Castle upon his own nephew, Lord Mahon (Hester’s brother), who, returning to England soon afterwards from studies and travels on the Continent, became engaged to Catherine Smith, Lord Carrington’s daughter, and married her in November 1803.² We must not

¹ *J. H. Frere and his Friends*, by Gabrielle Festing (London, 1895).

² The marriage was solemnised on November 19 in the dining-room at Deal Castle. (Mr. Pitt accompanied Lord Mahon from Walmer to Deal for the wedding. This further note is furnished by the present Lord Warden, Lord Beauchamp, great-grandson of the Lord Mahon in question.—Ed.)

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attach too much importance to the rather acidulated remark of Lady Hester in her exile that—

“ It suited Mr. Pitt very well, in making Lord Carrington Governor of Deal Castle, to have somebody near at hand who could take off the bore, and the expense too, of entertaining people from London.”¹

In the winter of this year (1802–3) symptoms of the growing estrangement between Pitt and Addington began to be apparent. Addington, conscious of the menace to his position, saw Pitt in London in January 1803 and cautiously sounded him about his political intentions; but Pitt eluded his advances, and, after spending the early winter at Bath, drinking the waters, disappeared to Walmer again at the end of January for the months of February and March, 1803.²

On his arrival at the Castle he had another attack, for which the local apothecary, Mr. Hulke, prescribed. In a letter to Farquhar of February 9, he acknowledges the symptoms, which require “rather a larger shoe than common on one of his feet”, to be those of gout.³ But he soon revives. Writing to Rose on February 16, he says that in the present state of parties his presence in London would be more likely to do harm than good, and

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 70–71.

² *Life of Addington*, vol. ii. p. 114. Pitt’s account of the conversation is to be found in Rose’s *Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 27. There was still so little idea of rupture that Pitt dined and slept at Addington’s house in Richmond Park.

³ Stanhope’s *Miscellanies*, p. 66.

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that the return of fine weather will give him both occupation and health at Walmer. After inviting Rose to pay him a visit, he adds :

“ I am now quite free both from gout and bile, and am gaining strength every day. The picture from my windows this morning is as delightful as in the middle summer.”¹

Rose accepted the invitation and found Pitt “ remarkably well ”.²

In the same spirit Pitt writes to Lord Mahon on February 22, 1803, offering the hospitality of Walmer to his father-in-law as well as himself, while the former is getting into Deal Castle, and again expatiates on the “ delightful weather and the scene from the ramparts ”, and says he is paying a daily visit to his farm, “ which is going on most prosperously ”.³ It was of this farm that Lady Hester remarked long after in her confidences to her physician :

“ Hay and corn were kept there for Pitt’s horses. He had a room fitted up with a table and two or three chairs, where he used to write sometimes, and a tidy woman to dress him something to eat. Oh ! what slices of bread and butter I have seen him eat there, and hunches of bread and cheese big enough for a ploughman.”⁴

It must be admitted that Pitt as a farmer suggests a picture somewhat foreign to the popular

¹ Rose’s *Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10.

² *Ibid.* p. 18.

³ Stanhope’s *Life*, vol. iv. p. 10.

⁴ *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 62.

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conception of that statesman, both then and since. Pitt, as the Minister, the financier, the orator, the scholar, the Volunteer, the courtly host, the pedagogue, even the prig, in politics, are images with which the admiration of friends, or the satire of opponents, has rendered us familiar. But Pitt in frieze or fustian seems to defy belief. And yet that the Walmer occupation was no mere passing whim or holiday fantasy is shown by the testimony of his contemporaries. To Wilberforce we owe the revelation that, in connection with his cultivation of the Walmer Farm, Pitt went in 1802 on a visit of a day and a half to Sir Charles Middleton, "to study farming. Sir Charles, astonished at his wonderful sagacity and power of combining and reasoning out. Says he is the best gentleman farmer he, Sir Charles, knows, and may be the best farmer in England."¹ Nor was this a mere amateur or dilettante predilection. Pitt, as a farmer, was convinced that by growing corn he would—with invasion in view—be benefiting his country.

On March 2 Pitt writes to Rose from Walmer asking him to move for leave of absence for him from the House of Commons, and indicates his intention to prolong it, when granted, till after Easter.²

The year 1803 at Walmer witnessed three important events or groups of events, to each of which some attention must be paid. The first was the attempted political reconciliation between Pitt and Addington, which ended in fiasco, because

¹ *Diaries of Wilberforce*, vol. iii. pp. 71, 72.

² Rose's *Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 10.

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of Pitt's refusal to return to office in any capacity but that of head of the administration. The second was the arrival of Hester Stanhope as a permanent resident and hostess for her uncle at Walmer. The third was the outbreak of the fourth and concluding phase of the French attempts at the invasion of England, and Pitt's preparations for dealing with the emergency in Kent.

The first of these episodes belongs rather to the political history of the time than to that of Walmer, except in so far as the Castle provided the stage where the different actors flitted on and off the scene from the wings. The first of these was Dundas (created Viscount Melville in that year), who was sent down by Addington to sound Pitt as to his willingness to join the Ministry, which was rapidly losing ground in public esteem. Arriving on Sunday, March 20, he spent two days at Walmer, opened fire upon the Lord Warden with the fatuous suggestion that Pitt should be Secretary of State and Lord Chatham, of all people, First Lord of the Treasury. This was launched at what he thought the most propitious moment—namely, “after dinner and port wine”¹—only to meet with immediate and complete discomfiture. Pitt would have nothing to do with any administration of which he was not the head. Melville reported his failure to Addington in a letter of March 22, dictated by Pitt, of which the latter took a copy.²

¹ *Diaries of Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 219.

² The authentic record of these transactions can be pieced together from the narratives of Stanhope, Rose, Malmesbury, Addington and

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Reluctant to accept defeat, Melville, though he had failed in his mission, was not let off a visit to the Farm; for his wife, writing on the next day, March 23, to Lord Wellesley (now in India) says :

“ Lord Melville is at Walmer Castle, and writes me a very satisfactory account of Mr. Pitt’s health and spirits. Says he had seen his farm, his ploughs going, and all his fat hogs. Shall you know him in this new character ? ”¹

Addington next despatched their common friend Long to Pitt in the first week of April with a new formula. Pitt was to be Prime Minister and Addington was to be Secretary of State and to go to the Lords. The Lord Warden agreed to meet Addington upon this basis. But alas, as Long was leaving Walmer in his post-chaise, Grenville drove up to the door ! Long rightly interpreted the omen, for Grenville and his friends did not mean to have “ the Doctor ” in a responsible position at any price, and made this the condition of their support.

The scene was then shifted to London, whither Pitt returned for the suggested conference. Meeting Addington at Long’s place, Bromley Hill, on April 10, he insisted on a general sweep of the Cabinet, and the introduction of his own friends. Addington

Wilberforce ; and also from Lord Grenville (*Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, vol. iii. p. 282) and Charles Abbot, then Speaker and afterwards Lord Colchester (*Diary*, vol. i. p. 414).

¹ Pearce’s *Wellesley*, vol. ii. p. 392.

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refused on April 12, and on April 19 the negotiations terminated and Pitt returned to Walmer.

The correspondence between the two erstwhile intimate friends reflected the rapidly widening rift in their relations. Pitt's letters had hitherto been signed "Yours affectionately". In the course of April this form was exchanged for "Yours sincerely", and by April 21 the two correspondents are each found subscribing themselves "Your faithful and obedient servant". The estrangement soon became complete,¹ and a war of pamphlets ensued. When Pitt returned to London after war had again broken out on May 18, and made his great speech in the House of Commons on May 23, it was noticed that while he called Lord Hawkesbury his "noble friend", he alluded to Addington as "the right honourable gentleman".

While these transactions were proceeding, Pitt's mother, the old Lady Chatham, died on April 3 at her place, Burton Pynsent in Somersetshire, and Pitt went up from Walmer to attend her funeral and take part in the political conference already referred to. This event had an effect on Pitt's domestic existence at Walmer of a far-reaching character, for, deprived of a home, his eccentric niece now found in her uncle's affection the refuge which for two short years brightened his life, and was at once the pride and the tragedy of hers. Had not Hester Stanhope sat at the head of his

¹ It was not lasting, since only a year later, after Addington had finally resigned and Pitt had taken his place, the former, as Lord Sidmouth, found a place in the new Ministry.

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table, and had not her own head been turned by the experience,¹ she might have been spared the bitterness and mortification of later days.

It was in August 1803 that the talented and high-spirited young lady took up her permanent abode at Walmer. She was now twenty-seven years of age, of commanding stature—nearly six feet in height—and had a fine figure, though later she became too thin ; not exactly good-looking, though she was admired by some men, with dark eyes and hair and an expression of mingled self-confidence and vivacity. She was exceedingly active and a fine horsewoman. We must not judge of her at this period from the picture drawn of her in later years by her physicians and other witnesses, when she was soured by disappointment, embittered by exile, irritable, imperious and morose. At Walmer she was rather the young princess, fond of fun, audacious in her sallies, mischievous in her gibes, making sport of her uncle's most respectable colleagues,² but always inspired with the most passionate devotion to himself. To her he was both a “guardian angel” and “a beloved angel”—her own ecstatic phrases. He tolerated her humours with a fond patience and forgave her boldest escapades ; and she repaid him with an

¹ A year earlier, with reference to her first visit at Walmer in September 1802, she had in one of her letters to Mr. Jackson herself made the unconscious admission—it was indeed an “intelligent anticipation”—“My head was turning very fast at Walmer” (*Life and Letters*, p. 38). More than two years later, in a letter to the same correspondent, she used the same phrase of herself as describing the fact (*ibid.* p. 66).

² Lord Stratford de Redcliffe spoke of “the measureless exuberance of her conversation”.

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adoration that never wavered till her last pitiful hours on the lonely heights of the Lebanon. She was one of the women who, in missing marriage, spoiled their lives. Her two attachments, for Lord Granville Leveson - Gower (afterwards the first Earl Granville) and Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, came to nothing, and her solitary love-affair with young Bruce while travelling in the Orient falls outside the scope of this volume. By far the best account of this strange and ill-starred creature is to be found in the book by her niece, the Duchess of Cleveland, for long issued only for private circulation, but published for the first time in 1914.¹

In the Memoirs of the gossiping Frenchwoman, the Comtesse de Boigne, who lived through so many régimes and saw so many societies both in England and abroad, there is to be found a reference to Lady Hester, which appears to contain some novel though not altogether reliable information.

“Lady Hester was the daughter of Mr. Pitt’s sister, who had been driven into her grave by the eccentricities of her husband, Lord Stanhope, whose behaviour had also thrown the eldest daughter into the arms of the village apothecary² near Lord Stanhope’s mansion. Mr. Pitt, to spare Lady Hester a similar fate, had taken her into his house, and she did the honours of the very inferior residence

¹ *Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope.*

² Lady Lucy Stanhope was the youngest, not the eldest daughter. But it is true that her father had married her, when barely sixteen, to a country surgeon practising in the neighbourhood. To this worthy gentleman, Dr. Thomas Taylor, she bore seven children before her death in 1814.



LADY HESTER STANHOPE

From a miniature belonging to the Earl Stanhope, D.S.O.

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which he was able to maintain upon the scanty fortune with which he had retired from public life. During this period of idleness he had constituted himself chaperon of his niece, and remained with infinite kindness until 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning at balls which wearied him to distraction. I have often seen him sitting in a corner waiting with exemplary patience until Lady Hester should be pleased to end his sufferings. . . . At the time of which I speak Lady Hester was a handsome girl of twenty (*sic*). Tall and well-made, fond of society, dancing, and of any public function, she was something of a flirt, and a very decided character, with ideas of striking originality. These, however, did not pass the limits of so-called eccentricity. For a Stanhope [here some words have been suppressed even in the French edition] she was prudence itself.”¹

This picture of Pitt as the unselfish but reluctant chaperon is not of itself incredible. But it is a little difficult to fit it into the facts and dates of his life. We have the authority of the Duchess of Cleveland that until Hester Stanhope came to reside at Walmer in the autumn of 1803, Pitt had seen very little of her; and it is the subsequent period to which Mme. de Boigne obviously refers, and in which she herself was going about in London society. On the other hand, Mme. de Boigne, who was only twenty-two in 1803, and who makes Hester seven years younger than her actual age at this period, herself left England in September 1804. It would

¹ *Mémoires de Mme. de Boigne* (Paris, 1907), vol. i. pp. 184-85.

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appear therefore, if we are implicitly to trust Mme. de Boigne's dates, that it was in the intervening year that Pitt must have escorted his niece to the ballrooms of London. But they were at Walmer together for almost the entire autumn and winter of 1803-4, and Pitt did not leave the Castle till February 16, 1804. He was again at Walmer during the Easter recess, and he became Prime Minister on May 10, 1804, after which date he cannot have found much leisure for London society. I am driven therefore to think either that the lively imagination of Mme. de Boigne (of which her Memoirs afford many other illustrations) must have led her to multiply the occasions on which she saw Pitt in the rôle of chaperon, or that she is actually referring to an earlier period in Lady Hester's career; although in the latter case we are confronted with the difficulty that, when First Lord of the Treasury, Pitt can have found, and as Tomline declares, did find, next to no opportunity for society. Some colour, however, is lent to this theory by a passage in the Memoirs of another French émigrée, the Duchesse de Gontaut, who avers that she saw Pitt chaperoning Lady Hester at a fancy-dress ball in London. This, she says, was at a time when that young lady had only lately come out: "*C'était sa première entrée dans le monde*". Her opinion of Lady Hester was less flattering than that of her compatriot: "*Elle me parut fort grande, fort maigre, fort décidée, fort indépendante*".¹ Whatever be the actual date to be assigned to these perhaps trivial

¹ *Mémoires de la Duchesse de Gontaut* (Paris, 1891), p. 104.

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occurrences, it would certainly appear that at some time Pitt had already shown an unselfish interest in his volatile niece by piloting her in the salons of Mayfair ; and Pitt the Chaperon may accordingly take his place in our portrait-gallery of celebrities in disguise alongside of Pitt the Farmer. It is somewhat surprising that Lady Hester herself, in the inexhaustible garrulity of her later days, never alluded to these experiences. Her sole reference to a ball in connection with her uncle depicts him as having gone to bed fatigued, while she was amusing herself at the dance.¹

We shall return presently to Hester's participation in the military and horticultural pursuits of her uncle. But reference may here be made to the picture drawn by her, in her letters and subsequent conversations, of the social life at Walmer over which she was now permitted by his kindness to preside. It must be confessed that some of these stories place a certain strain upon our credulity.

“Lady Hester said it was fine fun to see these match-making mothers bring their daughters down to Walmer to try to get Mr. Pitt into a scrape, and the extraordinary distance at which he contrived to keep them. Sometimes, if they approached him, or wanted to plant their daughters too near him, it was the fire was too warm, or the air from the window, or some excuse for removing his chair to a distance from them.”²

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 182.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 180. Lady Hester proceeds to descant with much enthusiasm on Pitt's critical appreciation of feminine beauty and ladies' dress.

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The following passage has an air of greater verisimilitude :

“ When Mr. Pitt retired from office, and sold Holwood, his favourite child, he laid down his carriages and horses, diminished his equipage, and paid off as many debts as he could. Yet, notwithstanding this complete revolution, his noble manners, his agreeable condescending air, never forsook him for a moment. To see him at table with vulgar sea-captains, and ignorant militia colonels, with two or three servants in attendance—he, who had been accustomed to a servant behind each chair, and all that was great and distinguished in Europe—one might have supposed disgust would have worked some change in him. But in either case it was the same—always the admiration of all around him. He was ever careful to cheer the modest and diffident ; but if some forward young fellow exhibited any pertness, by a short speech, or by asking some puzzling question, he would give him such a set-down that he would not get over it all the evening.”¹

When Lady Hester finally left England in 1810, she spent her first winter (1810–11) at Therapia, where she saw much of Stratford Canning, who had just become Minister at Constantinople, and forty years later was to crown his diplomatic career by being created Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. Among the stories which he told of Lady Hester’s conversation was the following :

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 68.

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“ Speaking of Mr. Pitt, she said that during his retreat from office he showed no signs of discontent or restlessness ; that although she had slept under his bedroom at Walmer she never heard the sound of his footfall after the hour—an early one—at which he had retired. . . . She spoke of the carelessness with which he often left his papers, either scattered about the room, or at best stowed away under the cushions of his sofa.”¹

The former of these anecdotes has always puzzled me extremely. For by no manner of means can the bedroom referred to be identified with the room, now known as Mr. Pitt’s Room, which he is known to have occupied. There is, and was then, no room under it but the kitchen. The only bed-rooms in the Castle which have, or had, another bedroom beneath them are the room in which the Duke of Wellington afterwards died (which is over the Sackville Room) and the corresponding room on the other side of the staircase, which has been occupied by several Lord Wardens, including Lord Granville and Lord Salisbury.² If Lady Hester’s story is to be accepted, we are accordingly driven to the conclusion that while Pitt used the room, to which his name is attached, as a workroom, he must at any rate on certain occasions have slept in another part of the Castle.

Pitt’s notorious carelessness and untidiness about his papers—one of the most familiar foibles of great

¹ *Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, by Stanley Lane-Poole (1888), vol. i. p. 114.

² It is now (1914) the Smoking-Room.

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men, who all their lives have been absorbed in affairs—are incidentally exemplified by another story which Lord Stanhope printed in his *Miscellanies* seventy years later. The widow of the gardener at Walmer Castle in Pitt's time, named Burfield, lived till an advanced age at Deal, where she died in 1863. Among her effects was a memorandum in Pitt's handwriting to this effect :

“DOWNING STREET, December 26, 1804.

“The messenger is to search with Burfield in the Library at Walmer for a large green bag containing some heavy books. It is to be sealed up (if not sealed already) and brought immediately to town. The bag will be found either in the corner of the shelves, or in the closet made by one of the windows in the Library. If necessary the closet must be broken open.¹

“W. P.”

Lady Hester would appear to have been at Walmer when the messenger arrived ; for the same collection of Letters contains one from her to Mr. W. D. Adams, Private Secretary to Pitt after the latter returned to office in 1804 :

“I was frightened to a degree when the messenger arrived. I thought at first Mr. P. was ill, and when I saw his handwriting, that he was out of office ; but was delighted to find it was only papers he

¹ *Miscellanies* (Second Series), 1872, p. 74. Which room was the Library in Pitt's day it is difficult to determine. But the choice is limited to the small number of rooms with more than one window.

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wanted. I hope he found what he wanted, but they are in great confusion. I wish you would ask him some day if he would like me to bring any more to town when I come, for at this moment perhaps it is difficult to say what are those he may want."¹

Pitt's lack of method about his papers was typical of a general remissness of habit which had grown upon him since his serious illnesses in 1797 and 1802, and which became henceforward an increasing source of anxiety to his intimate friends. One symptom was a change in his morning hours. In his prime he had risen early and worked betimes. But he was now frequently late in the morning (we have seen that Nelson found him still asleep when paying his official call in 1801). A year and a half later Bishop Tomline lamented to Rose that he lay in bed so late that he could not see or talk to the necessary people, and everything had to be put off from day to day.² His correspondence also suffered ; he exhibited a growing disinclination to write or answer letters. All these were symptoms of a progressive decline. They did not prevent him, however, from throwing himself with an energy and passion that were almost feverish into the preparations, for which he now assumed personal responsibility, for meeting the anticipated invasion from France. These occupied nearly the whole of his time during the period in which he was out

¹ *Miscellanies* (Second Series), 1872, p. 78.

² *Diaries of Rose*, vol. ii. p. 91, Letter of February 4, 1805. Cf. Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iv. p. 82.

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of office in 1803 and 1804 ; and history does not record a more inspiring example of spirit than the spectacle of this man, a civilian, an ex-Prime Minister, already in premature middle-age and with the seeds of death implanted in his system, addressing himself to the drudgery of military duties with all the ardour of a youthful Captain, keen for promotion.

After the signature of the Peace of Amiens, this country had relapsed into one of those disastrous fits of somnolence which are chronic in the history of this nation. No people are more difficult to arouse from selfish apathy ; none, when aroused, comport themselves with greater ardour, or more cheerful endurance, or a more indomitable courage ; none, when the crisis is over, are more prone to ignore the painful lessons of experience, or even to sacrifice the fruits of victory. So it was in 1801, and has been since, and doubtless will be again. No sooner had peace been declared in March 1802, than the Fencibles, horse and foot, were disbanded, the Militia were allowed to drift away, the Volunteers dwindled and all but disappeared. Attempts were made in 1802 to consolidate the old and the Supplementary Militia into a force of 75,000 men, and the men were forbidden to enlist in the Regular Army. The latter, when war broke out again in May 1803, consisted only of 90,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry and 70,000 artillery.

Acts were hastily passed, enrolling the two Militia forces, and re-creating the Volunteers. In June 1803 a new force was constituted for service

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in the United Kingdom, called the Army of Reserve, which was intensely unpopular and had to be abandoned a year later. A Levy en Masse Act was passed to provide for the case of invasion. There was a universal prejudice against the Militia, mainly because of the ballot, but the revived Volunteer movement was attended with immense success. The nation sprang to arms and offered itself in inconvenient numbers. At the end of 1803 there were said to be 380,000 effective Volunteers in Great Britain and 70,000 in Ireland. The great majority of these were ill-disciplined, ill-organised, and a source of inconvenience rather than of strength. But at least they testified to the reawakened spirit of the nation. To this movement Kent, largely under the inspiration of Pitt, made a notable contribution. Her natural quota was 8000 men, but for her own safety she worked to raise 15,000 and did raise 10,300. As soon as war broke out Pitt wrote to Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for War, and offered to raise a Corps of Volunteers within the Cinque Ports and to take the command.¹ The offer was accepted; and within a very few months the Corps was in being and numbered 3500 men. Its descendant still survives in the Royal Cinque Port Volunteers, of which the Lord Warden is still the Hon. Colonel.² Pitt's Volunteers consisted of two (and later on of three) battalions, of which Robert Jenkinson, just called up to the

¹ *State Papers (Internal Defence)*, vol. vii., 1803.

² Now the 5th (Cinque Ports) Battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment.—ED.

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House of Lords as Lord Hawkesbury during the lifetime of his father, the first Earl of Liverpool, was gazetted Colonel-in-Chief. The Lieut.-Colonels commanding the two battalions were Pitt's nephew, Charles Lord Mahon, and Lord Carrington, the newly appointed Captain of Deal Castle. Their Commissions were dated July 30, 1803. The regiment further possessed a Chaplain and a Surgeon; and their principal drill-ground was a large field at Sandown. In addition the Lord Warden organised some Bombardiers, who used to assemble for exercise at the Castle.

It was at this moment, viz. in October 1803, and in response to this enthusiasm, that Wordsworth addressed one of his noblest Sonnets "to the Men of Kent":

Vanguard of Liberty, ye men of Kent,
Ye children of a soil that doth advance
Her haughty brow against the coast of France,
Now is the time to prove your hardiment!
To France be words of invitation sent!
They from their fields can see the countenance
Of your fierce war, may ken the glittering lance,
And hear you shouting forth your brave intent.
Left single in bold parley ye of yore
Did from the Norman win a gallant wreath;
Confirmed the Charters that were yours before—
No parleying now! In Britain is one breath;
We are all with you now from shore to shore;
Ye men of Kent, 'tis victory or death!

Canning, who was the master of a very different kind of verse, made much fun of Jenkinson (Lord Hawkesbury) and his command. Jenkinson had

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shown to Canning one of his sergeants' recruiting handbills, whereupon Canning fired off the following rhymes, which were read aloud on the following night at a supper at Lady Malmesbury's :

Come on, my brave lads ! Not bloodshed and murder—
I vow from my thoughts there is nothing that's further ;
'Tis the bold Colonel Jenkinson calls you to arm,
And solemnly swears you shall come to no harm.

We're no common Dragoons, made of Tailors or Barbers,
But true Cinque Port horsemen, the pick of five harbours,
Who, though doomed to lose leather, all scorn to complain,
And stick fast by our spears without touching the main !

And so on for another forty lines, in which Jenkinson as the speaker is the subject of a good deal of lively chaff.¹

The Corps would appear to have had two Colonels, for Pitt was certainly in supreme command, and not much is heard of Jenkinson in this connection after 1803. Indeed his local association with the Cinque Ports had ended in 1803, when he ceased to be M.P. for Rye and was called up to the House of Lords.

A word may here be said as to the reality and imminence of the peril by which the country was then confronted. It became the fashion with Pitt's critics, including some even of his friends, to scoff at the danger and to deride the statesman. Grenville, whose views in 1804 will be cited when we come to that year, was consistent both in his lack of insight and in his ridicule. Writing to his brother

¹ *George Canning and His Friends*, edited by Captain J. Bagot (1909), vol. i. pp. 133-34.

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from Dropmore on April 12, 1803, he said : “ You will find me here, very peaceably rolling my walks, and watering my rhododendrons, without any thought of the new possessor to whom Bonaparte may dispose them ”.¹

But with the information now available² it is no longer possible for us to err with Grenville. On the contrary, the undertaking, as we can satisfy ourselves, was planned with all the forethought, the imagination, the prodigious attention to detail, and the remorseless energy of the greatest captain of the age. For nearly three years Napoleon concentrated his mind on this and no other object : he had chosen the boat, the *Prince de Galles*, on which he was himself to cross the Channel ; he had made up his mind to get to London with as fixed and fierce a resolve as animates the Emperor William II. at the moment that these words are being written, and, as is well known, he had a medal struck bearing his own head, and the proud but rash inscription : *Descente en Angleterre. Frappée à Londres 1804.*

Years later, at Elba, on his voyage to St. Helena, and while there, Napoleon liked nothing better than to descant on his actual plans for the invasion of England. In describing these he was not always quite consistent, or even truthful ; but the most interesting passage for our purpose, inasmuch as it brings in Pitt and his preparations, is to be found

¹ I cannot trace this quotation in the *Dropmore Papers*.—ED.

² See especially *Projets et tentatives de débarquement aux Iles Britanniques*, by Cap. Édouard Desbrière (Paris, 1900–1902) ; and Wheeler and Broadley’s *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*.

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in the narrative of a conversation held by Sir George Bingham with the Emperor on board the *Northumberland* in September 1815.

“ Mr. Pitt never thought my invasion scheme was a feint. I had well weighed the consequences, and I calculated that if I did not succeed, the demonstrations would do me great disservice, as it would make the English a military nation, and at the same time would give the Ministers a command of money, since no other measure could authorise them to call for so large a sum as in this case was requisite. I was very well pleased to see the preparations the English made on the coast opposite Boulogne, at which place it was never my intention to have attempted a landing: I kept up this farce by frequent embargos and by the exercise of my flotilla. My real point of attack would have been somewhere between Margate and Deal. I calculated that I could have possessed myself of the lines of Chatham as a point of retreat. I should then have pushed for London, and had I arrived there I should have offered very moderate terms of peace, taking care, however, so far to rouse you that you could have done no further mischief, nor have disturbed my future plans. Whether I should have succeeded or not I cannot say, but such were my objects.”¹

Nor were Bonaparte’s preparations inferior to his purpose. New docks were built, the French and Flemish ports enlarged. Boulogne was the centre of

¹ *Cornhill Magazine*, 1901, pp. 28-29.

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French concentrations, but two other flotillas were assembled at Dunkirk and Cherbourg. The entire fleet was to consist first of 2000, later of 3500 vessels (sloops, gun-boats, pinnaces and armed fishing-craft of every description). On the French coast were massed 100,000 troops, and in the autumn of 1803 Napoleon was at Boulogne almost continuously till the winter, riding up and down the sands, and from the cliff-top gazing through his telescope at the English ships patrolling the Channel, and at the white cliffs of England. A year later, in August 1804, just after he had been crowned Emperor, he was there again, reviewing the "Army of England". Once again in August 1805 the Emperor was on the spot. Soon after, his face was turned Eastward to the Rhine and the Danube : and before the French Fleet or the Army of Invasion could be reassembled, the dream, so near to fruition, had been shattered by Trafalgar, and the shores of England were safe for another century.

Meanwhile let us turn to the evidence, of which there is no lack, as to the life of the Lord Warden at Walmer, now that he had become the Chief Volunteer on the coast of Kent. In the height of the summer he is detained in London, but writes to Tomline on June 28 from York Place.

"I am likely still to be detained in town a week or ten days longer by these discussions on finance and military defence, neither of which I think it right or creditable to fail attending. It is a little uncertain whether Farquhar will not afterwards

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advise me to go for a few weeks either to Bath or Tunbridge, which is as much time as I can spare from Walmer, where I very much wish to be at present, not merely for the sake of my farm, but for the duties which at such a moment as this belong to my official situation there.”¹

Immediately after his return to Walmer in July he set out on an official tour to raise his Corps of Volunteers. On August 1 I learn from a private diary that he accompanied the Duke of York in an inspection of the fortifications and review of the troops at Dover—on which occasion “during a Royal Salute a gun went off and blew an artilleryman over the wall into the trench and killed him”.

On or about August 8 Pitt wrote to Wilberforce :

“ We are going on here most rapidly, and in proportion to our population, most extensively in every species of local defence, both naval and military, and trust I shall both add very much to the security of essential points on this coast, and set not a bad example to other maritime districts.”

On the other hand, Wilberforce, who was a man of peace, was rather disturbed at these martial activities on the part of his friend, and on August 9 wrote as follows to Rose :

“ Pitt is about to take command of 3000 volunteers as Lord Warden. I am uneasy at it. He does not engage on equal or common terms, and his spirit will lead him to be foremost in the battle ;

¹ *Pitt*, by Lord Ashbourne (1898), p. 344.

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yet as it is his proper post, one can say nothing against it.”¹

Presently, however, Wilberforce consoled himself by the reflection that “ Pitt had discovered great military genius ” and wrote to another friend, Lord Muncaster, to say that “ Pitt is doing great things as Lord Warden ”. Even Peter Pindar (Dr. Wolcot), not ordinarily a favourable critic, paid the Lord Warden a compliment in doggrel :

Come the Consul whenever he will—
And he means it when Neptune is calmer—
Pitt will send him a d—d bitter pill
From his fortress, the Castle of Walmer.

Of this date also is the familiar story of Pitt’s joke at the expense of the battalions which sent up a plan, with stipulations as to their duties “ except in the case of actual invasion ”. Opposite the claim that these gallant sons of Mars should never be required to leave the kingdom, Pitt laconically wrote “ except in case of invasion ”.²

Sir John Moore, after being stationed on his return from the Egyptian campaign in 1801, first at Brighton and afterwards at Chatham, was now at Shorncliffe, where he held command under Sir David Dundas. The friendship between Pitt and Moore was renewed, and the Lord Warden frequently

¹ *Life*, vol. iii. p. 113.

² This story was told by Croker at a party at Strathfieldsaye in about 1838 (Stanhope’s *Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*, p. 113). Stanhope, who put it later into his *Life of Pitt* (1861), obviously now heard it for the first time, for he remarks upon it, “ I never remember a better or a bitterer jest ”.

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rode over to Sandgate to see the younger man. On one of these occasions the soldier ventured a joke at the expense of the statesman. Pitt had said, “ Well, Moore ; but as on the very first alarm of the enemy’s coming I shall march to aid you with my Cinque Ports regiments, you have not told me where you will place us ”. “ Do you see that hill ? ” said Moore. “ You and yours shall be drawn up on it, where you will make a most formidable appearance to the enemy, while I with the soldiers shall be fighting on the beach.”¹ Pitt took the retort in excellent part.

Moore at this time, and even later, was no believer in the likelihood of invasion—therein showing less real intuition than the Lord Warden—for there is a passage in a letter from him to Creevey, dated Sandgate, August 27, 1804, in which he wrote :

“ We understand that Government has positive information that we are to be invaded, and I am told that Pitt believes it. The experience of the last twelve months has taught me to place little confidence in the information or beliefs of Ministers, and as the undertaking seems to me so arduous and offering so little prospect of success I cannot persuade myself that Bonaparte will be mad enough to attempt it.”²

Nevertheless Moore was both a trusted and a consistently sagacious adviser of Pitt, who consulted him on the many schemes, some wise, others

¹ *Life of Sir John Moore*, by J. C. Moore (1834), vol. ii. p. 8.

² *Creevey Papers* (1904), vol. i. p. 29.

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extremely risky and foolish, that were constantly being suggested by or to the British Ministers. It was owing to Moore's advice (after he had made a special voyage to reconnoitre the place) that the wild-cat scheme to attack the harbour and fort of Ferrol was abandoned in 1804. Later, in 1805, Moore was strongly opposed to the projected landing at Boulogne under Sir Sidney Smith.¹

The editor of Moore's *Diary* represents his hero as having been painfully shocked by the copious libations with which Pitt and Dundas washed down these dinner-table confabulations. "It is recorded", he says, "that on more than one occasion Moore, a specially abstemious though a very hospitable man, left the discussion, holding up his hands in despair that the fate of the country should depend on the decision of two men in the condition in which he had left them."²

These apprehensions, if they are truly reported, did not prevent the closest intimacy between the two men, and it was in the course of the two years 1803–5, and still more after Pitt's death, that Moore and Lady Hester Stanhope felt that mutual attraction which, though it never culminated in an engagement, induced him to remember her when dying at Corunna, and her to speak of him with emotion to the last days of her life. It seems clear that the one man whom at any rate in those days Hester Stanhope would have desired to wed was Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, afterwards the first

¹ *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Second Series, vol. i. pp. 86, 110.

² *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 115.

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Earl Granville ; and that the one woman with whom Moore contemplated matrimony was Miss Caroline Fox. But had Moore lived, fate might have ruled otherwise.

To revert to the position and movements of Pitt in 1803. The caricaturists of the day were not slow to seize the situation ; and, though the Lord Warden was only a private individual, out of office and destitute of power, they at once recognised Bonaparte and him as the protagonists in the great impending struggle. On March 27, 1803, S. W. Fores of Piccadilly brought out a cartoon, entitled “The Political Cocks”, in which Napoleon and Pitt are represented standing on the edge of their rival cliffs. The Gallic cock with the face of the First Consul has very long spurs and is crowing a challenge. The English cock with the head of Pitt—nose tilted in the air—stands erect on the Crown of England and defiantly responds. Above the French bird is the inscription : “Eh, Master Billy, if I could but take a flight over this Brook, I would soon stop your crowing. I would knock you off that Perch, I swear by Mahomet, the Pope, and all the Idols I have ever worshipped.” Pitt’s reply is a stentorian crow, and the words, “That you never can do ! ”

Later in the year, on October 22, the same publisher brought out another cartoon, entitled “The Centinel at his Post, or Boney’s peep into Walmer Castle”. Bonaparte, in full uniform, with five companions, approaches the ramparts of Walmer Castle in a boat. Pitt, in Volunteer uniform,

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holding a musket, leans over the parapet and asks cheerily, “Who goes there ?” Napoleon, wearing an expression of surprised alarm, says to his men, who look equally terrified, “Ah, Begar, dat man alive still—turn about, Citoyens—for there will be no good to be done. I know his tricks of old !”

In September (1803) Pitt went on a tour of inspection through the Cinque Ports, accompanied by Major-General E. Phipps, to whom his brother, Lord Mulgrave, wrote :

“I envy you the entertaining and interesting tour you are about to undertake. As it is in a great measure a military tour, you will collect much from the flashes of the Modern’s mind, who is already an excellent soldier.”¹

This passage introduces us to a nickname given to Pitt by some of his intimate friends—“the Modern Shakspeare”—to indicate the universal range of his genius.

The Lord Warden’s energies were not confined to the land : he organised and equipped a fleet of luggers from the fishing-boats of the coast and armed them with 12-pound or 18-pound carronades according to their size. On September 15, 1803, the entire fleet of 35 boats was reviewed by Pitt and his party (consisting of Lady Hester, Lord Mahon and others) from the ramparts of Walmer Castle. The Lord Warden’s flag was saluted by the boats anchored in line opposite the Castle ; and the Lord Warden then embarked on a tour

¹ *Memoirs of R. P. Ward*, by Hon. E. Phipps (1850), vol. i. p. 136.

Oh Master Pitt, if I could but take a flight
over this Brook I would soon stop your crowing,
I would knock you off that perch I swear by Mahomet.
the Pope and all the Gods I have ever worshipped.

Tuck a mo - too
that you never even do !!!



THE POLITICAL COCKS.



PITT AND NAPOLEON

Caricatures by Ansell, 1803

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of inspection, sailing in and out of the line and being greeted with hearty cheers by the crews. The latter, after being suitably regaled, performed some manœuvres for the edification of the large crowd assembled on the beach and, to use the typical words of the local chronicler, "the shouts at sea were taken up ashore till the air was rent with acclamations".

On the following day Pitt wrote to Rose :

"I wish very much I could pass a few days with you at Cuffnells, but I do not like at present to go so far from my post, though we have certainly no immediate indication of any intention from the other side of the water to give us employment. Before the long nights we hope to be very well prepared to receive them, both afloat and ashore."¹

Pitt's efforts at naval preparation did not receive much encouragement at official headquarters. Going up to London to have a political conference with his friend Rose on October 2, he complained bitterly of the cold water thrown by the Admiralty on a plan which he had put forward for maritime defence. The Deal people had already offered him, and he had accepted, with the approval of the Government, 50 gun-boats, and he had since been offered 50 more, which he asked the Admiralty to equip. The reply came that Lord Hobart was taking other steps to obtain gun-boats equipped as well as found by the ports ; and that there were no 4-pound caronades to spare. A correspondence

¹ *Diarie*s, vol. ii. p. 68.

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followed between Pitt and the London officials, in which the former doubtless gave vent to some sound views upon red tape; but he persevered in his organisation, and was able to write on October 18 that he had now fitted or was fitting about 170 boats between Margate and Hastings.¹ In the same letter he expressed the opinion that some attempt at invasion would soon be made, and added: "Our Volunteers are, I think, likely to be called upon to undertake permanent duty, which I hope they will readily consent to".

On October 23 I learn from an unpublished diary that "eight companies of Dover Volunteers, dressed for the first time in regimentals, paraded on the Rope-walk and marched to the Maison Dieu Fields, Mr. Pitt riding before them as Colonel".

Pitt's zeal in respect of coastal defence did not close his eyes to the weak points of the national military organisation, and on November 10 he writes to Rose:

"Our state of defence is certainly (comparatively speaking) very complete, though still in many respects very far short of what it ought to have been, and what it easily might have been. On the whole I think there is good ground to expect that we shall be able to give a very good account of any force that seems likely to reach any part of the coast, and shall be able to prevent its penetrating into the interior. But if, by any accident, we are to be over-powered in the first instance I am by no means

¹ Rose's *Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 70.

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satisfied that any adequate force could be collected in time to stay the enemy's further progress till they had arrived much nearer the Capital than we should like.”¹

In the same letter he says that his local duties will prevent him from being present on the first day of the session,² but that he means to come up before Christmas to call the attention of the House to “the principal omissions on the part of the Government in providing for our defence, and to suggest the measures which seem still necessary towards completing it”. This intention he carried out in the middle of December, when he made a strong speech in defence of the Volunteer Movement,³ which Fox, on the other side, derided, scoffing at “their theatrical ostentatious foppery, fit for nothing but to be put on the top of a hill to be looked at”.

We may now bring upon the scene as a witness the vivacious but not too reliable young lady who had just taken up her residence at the Castle, and who threw herself with a more than masculine ardour into the military avocations of her uncle. On November 15, in a letter to Lord Haddington, she described a visit paid by the Walmer party to a recently captured French gun-boat which had been

¹ Rose's *Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 71-72.

² Compare *Memoirs of R. P. Ward*, by Hon. E. Phipps, vol. i. p. 144.

³ While Pitt was out of office he spoke from the corner of the third bench from the floor on the Government side below the gangway. This was in the old House of Commons. A similar place has been reserved by tradition for ex-leaders in modern times, and I have seen the corresponding place occupied by Mr. Chamberlain.

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brought into Deal and of which she wrote in characteristic style :

“ She had two large guns on board, thirty soldiers and four sailors. She is about 30 feet long, and only draws about 4 feet of water ; an ill-contrived thing, and so little above the water that, had she as many men on board as she could really carry, a moderate storm would wash them overboard. Having seen enough of their rascally regiments,¹ I certainly pronounce these picked men. They were well clothed and provided with everything—an immense cask of brandy, and a certain quantity of provisions. They appeared neither low nor mortified at being stared at or talked to, nor did they sham spirits. They simply said they would soon be retaken, for it would all be over in less than two months, and seemed perfectly at their ease ; and, Frenchman-like, some of them were dressing their hair, and many attending in some way or other to the decoration of their persons, by pulling up a prodigious black stock over their chin, or giving a knowing air to a very large cocked hat, with a horrible national cockade in it, which badge of rascality constantly occasions a thousand reflections, not of the most pleasant nature.”²

Lady Hester went on to say that her uncle’s 1st battalion had been reviewed a few days earlier by General Dundas,³ who expressed himself equally

¹ *I.e.* on her recent Continental travels.

² *Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by the Duchess of Cleveland (1914), p. 51.

³ Sir David Dundas, who was the General in command of the Southern District for Home Defence.

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surprised and pleased by the state of discipline in which he found them.

Three days later, in a letter to Jackson, we have an account of Pitt which gives a more realistic picture of his exertions.

" Mr. Pitt absolutely goes through the fatigue of a *drill sergeant*. It is parade after parade, at fifteen or twenty miles distant from each other. I often attend him, and it is quite as much (I can assure you) as I am equal to, although I am *remarkably* well just now. The hard riding I do not mind, but to remain almost *still* so many hours on horseback is an incomprehensible bore, and requires more patience than you can easily imagine. However, I suppose few regiments for the time were ever so forward, therefore the trouble is nothing. If Mr. Pitt does not overdo it and injure his health every other consideration becomes trifling. You know me too well not to be aware of the anxiety I am under upon this account ; and the extreme care I take, or rather endeavour to take, of this blessing (so essential to him in pursuing his active line of conduct, therefore *invaluable* to his country), is rewarded by his *minding* me more than any other person, and allowing me to speak to him upon the subject of his health, which is always an unpleasant one, and one he particularly dislikes. There is no use in flattering a man who is not ill from fancy and makes but too light of his complaints, therefore I pursue quite a different plan ; and I am happy to be able to tell you, sincerely, I see

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nothing at all alarming about him. He had a cough when I first came to England, but it has nearly or quite left him. He is thin but certainly strong, and his spirits are excellent. . . . Mr. Pitt is determined to remain acting Colonel when his regiment is called into the field. Some persons blame this determination, but I do not. He has always hitherto acted up to his character. Why should he then in this instance prove deficient ? ”¹

The year 1804 now opened—the year which was to terminate the feeble and discredited Administration of Addington, and to bring Pitt back by popular acclaim to power. In the first week of January he was able to get away to London for some days to consult with his political friends. During his absence his niece wrote to her diplomatic correspondent what is perhaps the most perfect revelation of sublime but unconscious conceit which her many confessions reveal :

“ We are in almost daily expectation of the coming of the French, and Mr. Pitt’s regiment is now nearly *perfect* enough to receive them. We have the famous 15th Light Dragoons in our barracks ; also the Northampton and Berkshire Militia. The first and last of these I command, and have an orderly dragoon whenever I please from the former, and the band of the latter. . . . I have my orders how to act in case of real alarm in Mr. Pitt’s absence, and also a promise from him never

¹ *Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by the Duchess of Cleveland, pp. 54-55.

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to be further from the army than a two hours' ride. This is all I wish. I should break my heart to be driven up the country like a sheep when everything I most love was in danger.”¹

The orderly and the band one can believe ; but Hester Stanhope in command of a cavalry regiment, or Hester Stanhope as an official substitute for the Lord Warden, would seem to transcend the licence even of the most unfettered imagination. It recalls the picture of Lucrezia Borgia acting, in his absence, for her father, the Pope. In February Pitt returned to town for the session. In April he ran down to Walmer for some days during the Easter recess, and his niece was again anxious about his health. She wrote to Sir Walter Farquhar from Walmer on the 15th of April :

“ I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, but in the meantime I must just state to you what I think about Mr. Pitt’s health, not omitting to say how very uneasy his constant cough has lately made me, which till within these last six days he would take no care of, exposing himself to these easterly winds late in the evening, attending his duty not as a soldier and Colonel of a regiment, but more like a drill-sergeant. . . . I have also to beg that you will most forcibly dwell upon all directions you think necessary to give him. Nobody is so like an angel when he is extremely ill, and few persons less tractable when a little ill ; always urging it is

¹ *Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by the Duchess of Cleveland, pp. 56, 58-59.

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nothing, and taking no care in the world of himself.”¹

On April the 16th there was to be a division in the House of Commons on the Irish Militia Bill, and Pitt came up from Dover to oppose it.² Less than a month later, on May 10, he was again First Lord of the Treasury, and the head of a Government which, though it contained four future Prime Ministers—Portland, Perceval, Liverpool and Canning—and was shortly to include Addington, who had already been the first adviser of the Crown, was one of the weakest that ever held office in this country. It was, in fact, a one-man administration, and it killed its author and chieftain in less than two years.

In the spring of this year (1804), before he had resumed office, the place filled by Pitt in the popular imagination was indicated by the appearance—with a dedication to the great political “pilot”—of the well-known coloured print, from a painting by Hubert, of Pitt as Colonel Commandant of the Cinque Ports Volunteers. The Lord Warden is on horseback, facing the spectator, in a brilliant scarlet uniform with white facings, and he holds a drawn sabre in his hand. In the background is Walmer Castle and a group of mounted officers, which, by a strange omission, does not appear to include the figure of Lady Hester Stanhope.

Parliamentary duties kept Pitt in London until the beginning of August; but as soon as he could

¹ *Miscellanies*, by Earl Stanhope, Second Series (1872), p. 74.

² *Life and Letters of Lord Minto*, vol. ii. pp. 107 and 128.



The Right Hon^e William Pitt
COLONEL COMMANDANT Cinque Port VOLUNTEERS
To the Gentlemen Subscribers the Corporations and other Inhabitants of
the Cinque Ports This Plate is respectfully inscribed by their
London Published March 20 1801 by J. C. Stadler R.A.

WILLIAM PITT AS COLONEL COMMANDANT OF THE CINQUE
PORT VOLUNTEERS

From an aquatint by Joseph C. Stadler

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escape, the Lord Warden replaced the Prime Minister, and he was again on the Kentish coast, superintending operations, holding reviews and inspections, building Martello Towers, and interesting himself in the rather futile and never finished project of the Hythe Canal.¹ It was at this period that Grenville, who had treated Pitt with great shabbiness on the formation of his Government, and was evidently suffering from a violent attack of spleen, wrote the often-quoted passage to his brother, the Marquis of Buckingham, August 25, 1804 :

“ Can anything equal the ridicule of Pitt riding about from Downing Street and Wimbledon, and from Wimbledon to Coxheath, to inspect military carriages, impregnable batteries, and Lord Chatham’s reviews ? Can he possibly be serious in expecting Bonaparte now ? Fifty more such questions one might ask, if any part of his conduct admitted of any discussion on the ordinary principles of reason and common sense.”²

A week later he is similarly sarcastic :

“ I have not much faith in Bonaparte’s Coming. . . . If, however, we are to believe the papers, the Expedition has sailed before now ; and perhaps

¹ This was a canal from Hythe to Rye, intended to cut off Romney Marsh, which was supposed to be a likely landing-place of the French. Only fourteen miles out of thirty-six were completed. Addington (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 396) had a very poor opinion of this project, and, indeed, of the enormous expenditure incurred on coast-defence in general against Napoleon.

² *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinet of George the Third*, by the Duke of Buckingham (1855), vol. iii. p. 361.

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by this time Lord Chatham and Pitt are displaying their rival talents as the command of the Kentish Army and volunteers.”¹

It is of course easy to throw ridicule upon Pitt, the Minister, the financier, the politician, riding about with drawn sword and inspecting country Volunteers, or rushing hither and thither along the coast to examine defences that would very likely have been worse than useless, or seriously believing that the insignificant forces which he commanded could have been of any avail against the trained hosts of Napoleon. But a truer line of criticism will be to recognise in his ardour a splendid and enduring example, and to realise that he, almost alone, or at any rate in advance of his compeers, formed a just perception of the character and scope of his enemy’s vast and towering ambitions.

It was during the late autumn and winter of 1804–5, the last of Pitt’s residence at Walmer, that the uncle and niece in combination busied themselves with those improvements in the grounds and gardens that made it in subsequent years a country house of so much external attraction, and still remain its principal charm. In later life, Hester, in no way to our surprise, took to herself the exclusive credit for these operations, but this claim does not seem to be borne out by the evidence of the time. The first reference is in a letter from her to Pitt of January 4, 1805 :

¹ *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinet of George the Third*, by the Duke of Buckingham (1855), vol. iii. p. 369.

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“ Burfield ” (the gardener) “ went to Maidstone yesterday for the last lot of trees and shrubs, which he expects will be all planted in ten days, unless a frost prevents it. I had a conversation with him about what was likely to grow in the chalk pit.¹ I proposed a few evergreen oaks, which he says will answer there, but nowhere else about the place.² We both agreed upon filling it with a variety of creepers, furze, broom, or almost anything that will grow and make it look less barren.”³

On February 3 she writes to Jackson, Pitt being still away from Walmer :

“ I think I shall remain here six weeks longer. I am not dull, or, rather, not idle, as I have the charge of improvements here—plantations, farms, buildings, etc.”⁴

In April she writes to Mr. Adams :

“ I am pretty well, but I am not allowed to go out yet, which vexes me, as I wish to attend to a plantation Mr. P. knows nothing of. Lord Guilford has left his place in this part of the world⁵ and is cutting down trees, and making all the money he

¹ This is the spot, now one of great rustic beauty, at the western end of the Castle grounds, which is known as the Glen. No doubt it was the quarry from which the core of the Castle walls had originally been obtained.

² Burfield was wrong, as Lord Granville’s splendid groups of ilex in the Castle Meadows sufficiently show.

³ Stanhope’s *Miscellanies* (Second Series), p. 75.

⁴ Duchess of Cleveland’s *Life and Letters* (1914), p. 67. In Lord Stanhope’s *Miscellanies*, p. 75, this letter is said erroneously to have been written to Mr. W. D. Adams (Pitt’s Private Secretary during his last administration).

⁵ Waldershare Park, near Dover.

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can of it. He has allowed me to take a great many shrubs (these he gives to me), and, as anything green in this part of the world is a treasure, I have been employing myself to cultivate a frightful barren bit of ground behind the Castle,¹ as it may be years and years before such an offer of plants might again be made; and buy them you cannot, of a considerable size at least; and little things make no show; and should Mr. Pitt come the end of the week I should like the plantation to be finished.”²

Over thirty years later Lady Hester gave her recollections of these events to Dr. Meryon at Djoun.

“I remember once what an improvement I made at Walmer, which arose from a conversation with some friends, in which Mr. Pitt agreed with them that Walmer was not certainly a beautiful residence, but that it only wanted trees to make it so. I was present, but did not seem to hear what was passing.

“Mr. Pitt soon after went to town. Mindful of what he had let drop, I immediately resolved to set about executing the improvements which he seemed to imply as wanting. I got (I know not how) all the regiments that were in quarters at Dover, and employed them in levelling, fetching turf, transplanting shrubs, flowers, etc. As I possess, in some degree, the art of ingratiating myself where I want to do it, I would go out of an evening among the

¹ Apparently the ground and plantations between the Castle and Hawkshill.

² Stanhope's *Miscellanies*, p. 76.

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workmen and say to one : ‘ You are a Warwickshire man—I know it by your face ’ (although I had known it by his brogue); ‘ how much I esteem Lord Warwick ; he is my best friend.’ ‘ Were you in Holland, my good fellow ? ’ to another. ‘ Yes, my lady, in the Blues.’ ‘ A fine regiment ; there is not a better soldier in the army than Colonel So-and-so.’ ‘ He was my colonel, my lady.’ Thus a few civil words, and occasionally a present, made the work go on rapidly, and it was finished before Mr. Pitt’s return. When Mr. Pitt came down, he dismounted from his horse, and ascending the staircase, saw through a window which commanded a view of the grounds,¹ the improvements that had been made. ‘ Dear me, Hester, why this is a miracle ! I know ’tis you, so do not deny it ; well, I declare, it is quite admirable ; I could not have done it half so well myself.’ And, though it was just dinner-time, he would go out, and examine it all over, and then was so profuse in his praises —which were the more delightful, because they applauded the correctness of my taste. Above all, he was charmed that I had not fallen into an error (which most persons would have done) of making what is called an English garden, but rather had kept to the old manner of avenues, alleys, and the like, as being more adapted to an ancient Castle. Such was the amiable politeness of Mr. Pitt.”²

¹ This is the existing window on the existing staircase.

² *Memoirs of Lady H. Stanhope by her Physician* (1845), vol. ii. pp. 66-67. This account, if it was correctly reported by Doctor Meryon, is rather difficult of identification. For the pleasure ground or garden as visible from the aforesaid window is emphatically (at any rate as it now is) laid

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As I have indicated, it seems probable that Lady Hester in later life took a great deal more credit to herself as the landscape-gardener of Walmer than she was really entitled to. Indeed her claim is negatived by the first and second of the above-quoted letters, from which it is clear that Pitt was generally cognisant of the changes that were being carried out in his absence. Her responsibility was probably limited to the plantations at the extremity of the Castle grounds on the side of Hawkshill, which seem to have been those that were planted as a surprise to Pitt during his absence at the beginning of the year 1805.

What might appear more astonishing is that Pitt—who, by the admission of all his friends, was greatly interested in gardening, and (on the evidence of Lady Hester herself) once said, “that he never saw a house or cottage, or garden he liked, but he immediately struck out improvements in his own mind”¹—should have waited for more than twelve years before beginning to beautify the singularly bleak and cheerless surroundings of Walmer. Let me cite the testimony of his friends. Wilberforce, in his Diary of 1798, makes the following entry : “Called on Pitt at Holwood ; tête-à-tête with Pitt, and much political talk. He much better—improved in habits also—*beautifying his place with great taste.*” Of the same place and occupations

out in the informal or English style. It would seem that the description applies rather to the more formal garden adjoining it, which is now occupied by the yew walk replanted by Lord Granville.

¹ Stanhope’s *Miscellanies*, p. 78.

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Wellesley wrote subsequently : “ He took the greatest delight in his residence at Holwood, which he enlarged and improved (it may be truly said) with his own hands. Often have I seen him working in his woods and gardens with his labourers for whole days together, undergoing considerable bodily fatigue, and with so much eagerness and assiduity, that you would have supposed the cultivation of his villa to be the principal occupation of his life.” Bishop Tomline wrote in his unpublished volume : “ At Holwood he planted and laid out the grounds, formed a piece of water, planned and executed a variety of alterations. It was delightful to see him at this his Sabine farm. After toiling in his room over revenue details or foreign despatches on which the fate of nations depended, he would walk out, and taking his spud in his hand, grub up a thistle or a weed, or give directions about the removal of a shrub, or the turning of a walk, with as much earnestness and interest as if he had nothing else to occupy his thoughts.”—Rose¹ and Grenville² gave similar testimony.

It seems hardly likely that this keen amateur-gardener should have been idle for over a decade at a place of which he was so fond and where he spent so much of his leisure at the period of the year most suitable for gardening. Indeed I think it is clear from one of his letters to Addington (already quoted)—in which he had written, on September 5, 1802, “ I should be very glad to show

¹ *Diaries*, vol. i. p. 213.

² *Recollections of Samuel Rogers*, p. 189.

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you all the improvements in this place, both in beauty and comfort"—that he had done a good deal at the Castle before his niece ever appeared on the scene. From a plan appended to a conveyance of the Castle lands at a later date, it appears that he was the first to make a sea-road or path in front of the Castle above the beach, where there is now an asphalt path; and it may be reasonably conjectured that the years 1792–1804 had not been entirely empty of outdoor creation, even though it was in his last winter that the stimulus of his niece's society and taste urged him to fresh activity.

A possible explanation of Pitt's inactivity in landscape gardening (if he was inactive) during the early years of his residence at Walmer may be that he did not at that time possess, either as owner or tenant, the ground about the Castle which he and his niece afterwards converted into a pleasure-ground. It is curious that among the many commentators on Pitt's residence at Walmer, not one has paused to enquire what were the boundaries of the Lord Warden's estate at that time. I am in a position to throw some light on the subject.

A little later, in the reign of Lord Liverpool, we shall find the latter purchasing from the Leith family, who were then Lords of the Manor, and presenting to his successors for all time, several pieces of land about the Castle. The Manor of Walmer, which had belonged to the Hugessen family since the days of Charles I., became vested in 1774 in two daughters, one of whom in 1780 married Edward Knatchbull, son and heir of Sir

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Edward Knatchbull, Bt., of Mershamb. This couple sold the estate to Sir George Leith of Deal;¹ and a letter from the latter to his son (who bore the same name), which is framed and hung in the corridor at Walmer, gives both the date of the purchase² and the price that was paid.

“January 26, 1784.

“MY DEAR GEORGE—

“I have yours of the 25th. You are right about Walmer. Consider £8000 is 400 pounds a year, which is more than you can ever make of it, nor do I believe in the distracted state of this Country money will be ever at lower Interest. I don’t say this to deter you from buying it, for I see much comfort (if not profit) in having of it, but to shew you that if you miss it at the price you offer, the money is in solid comfort. If you buy it, pay £100 down, and agree to take the Rents at Michaelmas next, and then to pay the remainder, or if before to be allowed Interest from the time of payment to Michaelmas. They must engage to put you in possession.

GEO. LEITH.”

This transaction was completed, and from a passage in the subsequent Deed of Conveyance to Lord Liverpool in 1812 (to which we shall revert later) it appears that the lands depicted on a

¹ The founder of this family was a naval surgeon who made a fortune in the reign of George III. by contracts with the Admiralty to supply food and render medical assistance to the sick and wounded in the French and American wars (Pritchard’s *Deal*, p. 240).

² Rev. C. R. Elvin (*Records of Walmer*) twice gives the date erroneously as “about 1789”. Pritchard (*Deal*) makes the same mistake.

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coloured plan affixed to the deed were “late in the tenure or occupation of The Right Honorable William Pitt deceased. . . .” These lands were in three lots, (a) that which is now known as the Castle Meadows, including as well the whole of the present kitchen and flower gardens, and the greater part of the pleasure ground—amounting to 28 a. 2 r. 0 p.; (b) the upper part of the pleasure-ground, described as “Part of the Castle Close (formerly Morris Underdown’s)”, amounting to 6 a. 2 r. 0 p.; and (c) the ground about and including the Glen, amounting to 4 a. 2 r. 35 p.; or a total of 39 a. 2 r. 35 p. It is clear from this document that outside the moat of the Castle itself, the Crown in Pitt’s time possessed no property whatsoever—and that it was only as tenants of the Lord of the Manor that Pitt’s predecessors possessed or cultivated a garden at all, and that he enjoyed and improved the amenities of the place. The grounds as leased to Pitt seem to have been larger than those purchased by Leith in 1784, and depicted in a plan attached to the aforenamed letter, in which they are described as The Leeze (no acreage given), Castle Close (14 a. 1 r. 13 p.) and Castle Close (4 a. 1 r. 0 p.). Doubtless the Leith family had added to the estate in the interim.

To revert to Pitt. If he did come down to Walmer in the spring of 1805, as Lady Hester avers, his visit must have been a short one—and it was the last but one that he was destined to pay to his Kentish home.

The clouds were gathering thickly round the

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Minister during this year. Rose was evidently rather sore at his growing indifference to business and to his friends ; and Bishop Tomline, in an attempt to console the faithful Achates, wrote on February 4 :

“ I am myself persuaded that his lying so late in bed in a morning prevents his seeing and talking with many persons to whom he might otherwise be able to show attention. He is too late for anything. Whatever can be put off is put off, and by this procrastination many things which, though they belong to no particular day, ought to be done soon, are never done at all. I lament this disposition in Mr. Pitt more than I can express.”¹

But political troubles were even more serious. The vote of censure upon Melville (the only occasion on which the Great Commoner ever condescended to tears in public) ; the resignation of Addington (now Lord Sidmouth, who, having been reconciled to Pitt and having joined the Ministry at the end of 1804, finally left it over the Melville affair in 1805) ; the renewed anxiety of Pitt to effect a Coalition with Fox, Grenville and their friends : all of these told upon the health and spirits, though they failed to daunt the courage, of the stricken man. Napoleon and the contemplated invasion were still his chief preoccupation ; and had not Villeneuve and his ships slunk into Cadiz harbour, the autumn of 1805 might well have witnessed the supreme attempt. On September 11 or 12

¹ *Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 91.

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occurred the final meeting of Pitt and Nelson in London, to which a reference has previously been made. From September 17-20 Pitt was at Weymouth with the King—the interview so well pourtrayed in the Fourth Act of the First Part of Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*. Not till October was the Lord Warden, for the last time, at "his castle of Walmer".

Here the maritime campaign was once more the sole topic of interest. General Sir John Moore, who was in command of the Shorncliffe Camp, came over to discuss the feasibility of a descent upon the French coast. On October 8 Lord Castlereagh, who was now Minister for War, India, and the Colonies, came down from London to consult with his chief;¹ and a party consisting of Lord Keith, commanding the squadron in the Downs, Sir Sidney Smith, in naval command off the coast of Holland, with General Don, who was about to conduct a military expedition to the Weser, met to consider a scheme for an attack upon the French flotilla at Boulogne.

For some years Robert Fulton, an American inventor, who was evidently much in advance of his age and who shared the fate of most scientific pioneers, had been offering to European Governments a number of mechanical contrivances, which included distinct anticipations alike of the steamship, the submarine vessel, and the torpedo. He had submitted his plans to the Directory as far

¹ *Castlereagh's Correspondence* (1851), vol. v. p. 117; vol. vi. pp. 12, 13, 91.

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back as 1797 : and they had come under the direct notice of Bonaparte in 1803. The latter was at first favourably impressed ; but, failing to do anything, he exhausted the patience of Fulton, who came over to England and offered his inventions to the British Government in 1804. In that year Pitt and Melville had together seen Fulton and had appointed a Commission, on which both served, to investigate the subject. The report was adverse, and Lord St. Vincent—probably the only man who ever applied the epithet to Pitt—had called the latter “ the greatest fool that ever existed to encourage a mode of war which those who commanded the sea did not want, and which, if successful, would deprive them of it ”. Nevertheless the Admiralty had authorised an experiment to be made with Fulton’s torpedo or catamaran upon the French fleet at Boulogne, and this had been unsuccessfully attempted by Lord Keith in September 1804—followed by a second failure in December.

Nevertheless Fulton, undismayed, returned to the charge, and he now persuaded Pitt to allow a further experiment to be made with his invention in the Downs. An old brig, the *Dorothea*, was anchored off Walmer Castle on October 15, and the Warden’s party witnessed the discharge of two torpedoes, each charged with 170 lbs. of gunpowder and fired by clockwork. The blow went home and the vessel was blown to atoms. But whether it was owing to the victory of Trafalgar a week later, or to the stupidity of the Board of Admiralty, nothing

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further was done, and Fulton returned to America, where he had the satisfaction of seeing the first warship that was ever propelled by steam successfully launched before his death in 1815.

Pitt's favour to the inventor met with the usual detraction ; and Windham, who had been Pitt's War Minister, 1794–1801, and was to hold the same office under Lord Grenville in the succeeding year, was loud in his scorn. “ Speaking of his going through military details, rockets and catamarans ” (the name applied by Fulton to his torpedo), “ Windham observed that Pitt's judgment on such matters was generally bad though he had a great talent in starting them.”¹

The word “ rocket ” in the above extract refers to another invention which the party assembled at Walmer were examining in the same week. This was the combustible rocket invented by Colonel Congreve, about which there is a good deal in the *Castlereagh Correspondence*. There was also a projectile, known as a “ carcass ”, the invention of a Mr. Robert Francis, which was in the nature of a combustible bomb, which it was also contemplated to try against the French flotilla at Boulogne. In such occupations the Lord Warden passed the last week that he was ever to spend at Walmer.

On October 14 Pitt left Walmer, never to return. On November 3 the news of Ulm reached London, compensated a few days later by the news of Trafalgar. On November 9 he delivered his

¹ *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P.* (1843), vol. i. p. 316.

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famous speech—four lines of immortal eloquence—at the Guildhall. The Duke of Wellington was present on this occasion and said at a later date of Pitt's speech : “ It was one of the best and neatest I ever heard in my life. He was scarcely up two minutes—yet nothing could be more perfect.”¹

On the occasion when the great Duke made this remark (at Walmer Castle on October 25, 1838) he also mentioned that he had met Pitt at Lord Camden's house in Kent in the same month (November 1805) and—somewhat in contradiction to what we should have expected—he added :

“ I did not think that he seemed ill. He was extremely lively and in good spirits. It is true that he was by way of being an invalid at that time ; a great deal was always said about his taking his rides, for he used then to ride eighteen or twenty miles every day, and great pains were taken to send forward his luncheon, bottled porter, I think, and getting him a beefsteak or mutton chop ready at some place fixed beforehand. That place was always mentioned to the party, so that those kept at home in the morning might join the ride there if they pleased. On coming home from these rides, they used to put on dry clothes and to hold a Cabinet, for all the party were members of the Cabinet, except me, and, I think, the Duke of

¹ The Lord Mayor having proposed Pitt's health as the man who had been the saviour of England and would be the saviour of Europe, Pitt replied : “ I return you many thanks for the honour you have done me. But Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.”

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Montrose. At dinner Mr. Pitt drank a little wine ; but it was at that time the fashion to sup, and he then took a great deal of port wine and water.”¹

This is almost the last gleam of sunlight on a landscape about to be plunged in gloom. Pitt was far more ill than either he or his fellow-guests apprehended.

On December 7 he went under doctor’s orders to Bath, where the news of Austerlitz (fought on December 2) reached him. On January 9 he set out on his return journey to London ; on the 14th Wellesley, just returned from India, had an interview with the dying man ; on the morning of the 23rd his indomitable spirit was quenched for ever.

This narrative will have served its purpose ill, if it has not given to my readers a distinct impression of the greatest of the Lords Warden of the Cinque Ports in his home. It has seemed worth while to unravel with some minuteness the complicated skein of interests, duties, pleasures, movements and dates, in order that subsequent occupiers of Walmer may be able to realise the considerable and significant part which this official residence played alike in the private and the public life of the Great Commoner. Here he unbosomed himself to his intimate friends ; here he dispensed liberal

¹ It is interesting to learn the impression that was produced upon the other party by this rencontre. We find it in Lady Hester’s *Memoirs* (vol. ii. p. 881), where Pitt told her that he had just met Arthur Wellesley, and said the more he saw of him the more he admired him. “ He is the only man I ever saw that was not vain of what he had done, and had so much reason to be so.”

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hospitality to his neighbours ; here he pondered and resolved great problems of State ; here he sought leisure from graver preoccupations in the traditional pursuits of the English country gentleman ; here he gave daily and practical evidence of his self-denying and unwearied patriotism. Further, the private life of Pitt, unlike that of some of his successors, both at Walmer and in the highest offices of State, was not communicated *instanter urbi et orbi* ; he did not live in an age of advertisement, and, had he done so, would have shunned it. His domestic life was one of seclusion, and has only been wrested from obscurity by modern historians, digging for an occasional nugget amid the slag-heaps of forgotten diaries and unread correspondence.

The picture which these scenes present to us is that of a man whose shy and almost haughty reserve before the world is replaced by a charming and unaffected familiarity at home, talking frankly with his colleagues, joking, chaffing, even playing practical jokes with his friends, alternating between a cheerful composure and the strenuous discharge of duty. As Wellesley said of him, “ He was endowed beyond any man of his time whom I knew with a gay heart and a social spirit ”. We never hear of Pitt moping or repining under the weight of a burden which only a few men have borne, or quailing beneath the strain of steadily declining health. He is kind to everybody, above all, extraordinarily kind to his wayward niece. Outside the literature of public affairs, he does not appear to have been a great reader of books, though the

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classics never lost their fascination for him. As Wellesley wrote, "He was perfectly accomplished in classical literature, both Latin and Greek. . . . These studies were his constant delight and resort. At Holwood, his favourite residence, and at Walmer Castle, his apartments were strewed with Latin and Greek classics, and his conversations with those friends who delighted in similar studies frequently turned on that most attractive branch of literature. . . . In these pursuits his constant and congenial companion was Lord Grenville, who has often declared to me that Mr. Pitt was the best Greek scholar he ever conversed with."¹ Tomline gave similar witness : "After he became Minister, a Homer or a Horace was always to be found upon his table in the midst of finance and political papers and some classical book was his constant companion when he travelled by carriage. . . . He had a well-chosen library." Addington says that he sometimes played chess, and in earlier years he is known to have condescended to a mild game of cards.

How far the spleen of political opponents could lead them may be seen from the following passage from that singularly malicious retailer of small gossip, Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, whose picture of the domestic life at Walmer differs as widely from that which I have drawn as does vinegar from wine :

"Pitt, when compelled, from 1801 to 1804, to reside during many months of each year in solitary

¹ This tribute, which had recently appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, was quoted by Sir Robert Peel in his Address as Lord Rector of Glasgow University on January 11, 1837.

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grandeur with Lady Hester Stanhope at Walmer Castle, listening to the waves of the German Ocean, while Addington, whom he had raised from comparative obscurity to the highest offices, filled his vacant seat—Pitt only supported life by the anticipation of his speedy return to power. On that object, and on that object alone, was his mind constantly fixed. During his exile from Downing Street to the Kentish shore, a period of nearly three years, he underwent all the torments of mortified ambition. I saw him frequently at that time, and his countenance always seemed to say :

Existence may be borne, and the deep root
Of life and sufferance make its firm abode
In bare and desolate bosoms.

I know from persons who had most frequent access to Pitt's private hours, that after 1793 down to his decease in January 1806, he scarcely enjoyed any settled tranquillity of mind, either in or out of office. Devoured by ambition, accustomed to dictate his will to Parliament, and habituated to power ever since he had attained to manhood, incapable of finding consolation for the loss of public employment, either in marriage or in literary researches, or in cultivating his Kentish farm or in drilling refractory Cinque Ports volunteers.”¹

That the writer of these vindictive sentences was ever at Walmer between 1801 and 1804 I do not for a moment believe ; if he had been, we must add open mendacity to malevolence in the charge-

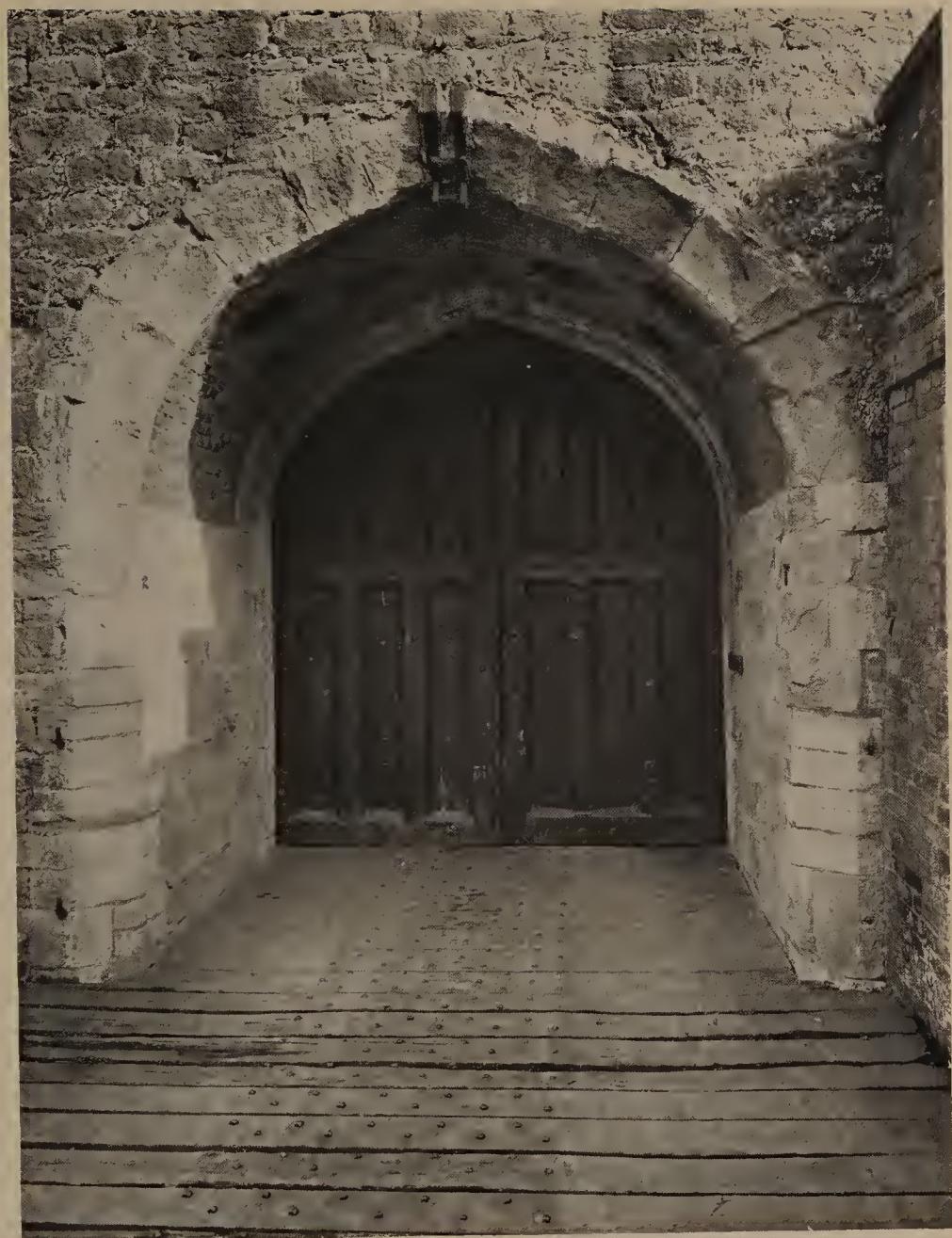
¹ *Historical Memoirs.*

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sheet against him. His attacks upon Pitt met with a crushing exposure in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* (vol. lvii.), and we have seen enough of the real life at Walmer to be able to compare the travesty with the original ; and to say of the former that it is not merely a caricature but a concoction.

Hester Stanhope said in later days that Pitt never went to Church when at Walmer, or even talked about religion.¹ It seems to be the case that he was indifferent to the outward observances of religious belief. But that her story is not strictly true I am able to prove from evidence of weight. The Dean of Windsor (Dr. Wellesley) told Lord Granville in October 1868 that on one occasion Lord Bathurst went to Walmer Church with Pitt and complained afterwards of the dullness of the sermon. Pitt thereupon repeated the whole of it ; and when Lord Bathurst expressed surprise that he should have wasted so much time in listening to such stuff, Pitt rejoined that he considered it an intellectual exercise to listen with attention to everything. Though incredible of any other man, the story has the ring of truth about it as applied to Pitt. Whatever his views and practice about Church services and sermons, we have the testimony of Wilberforce, Wellesley and others of his friends that Pitt was a sincere believer in the principles of religious truth ; and of Tomline that on his death-bed, while admitting his neglect of prayer, he threw himself with humility upon the mercy of his

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 167.



ENTRANCE TO WALMER CASTLE

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Creator. Characteristically, this story was denied with indignation by Lady Hester.¹

Pitt's improvidence appears to have surpassed even the extreme limits of an extravagant age. He paid no bills ; he was mercilessly imposed upon by tradesmen whom he never checked, and domestic servants whom he refused either to dismiss or to chide. Rose declares that in one year the charge for his servants in London and at Holwood—*i.e.* wages, board-wages, liveries and bills alone—amounted to more than £2300. His stable was run on an equally extravagant scale, and his niece says that the post-chaises and four which he used for his journeys between London and Walmer were enough to run away with a moderate income.

This seems to have been the ordinary method of locomotion employed by the Lord Warden and his guests. Sometimes he would break the journey up or down by halting at Cobham or some other friend's house in Kent ; occasionally he came round by sea from the Medway or Thames. When the post-chaises arrived at Walmer they were stabled inside the big gateway of the Castle—a practice which prevailed down to the time of the Duke of Wellington, to whom George IV. made the jesting remark, “ Pray is the entry to the Castle still through the Coach-house ? ”

Though not naturally an ardent sportsman, Pitt took part in the sports of the neighbourhood, as did Wellington and Granville in the succeeding century, shooting partridges, and hunting with the West Kent and Dover Hounds. These pursuits,

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 167.

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however, were in his case rather a source of healthful recreation than a personal absorption. But of riding he was always fond.

When we come to the question of his personal habits and methods of life, we are on rather more debateable ground. How far the breakdown of his health and premature death were due to hereditary gout and to the physical strain of a life that knew no respite or ease, or to a too copious indulgence in port wine, has been much disputed. The Whigs, of course, said that he died of too much port, and this view is reflected by Lecky, who wrote : “ Towards the end of his life his shaking hand and bloated features indicated plainly the excess which was undermining his constitution.”¹ Windham said that “ his stomach was completely destroyed by his habits of living and labour, and at last by painful anxiety and mortification of mind ”. Even his friends, like Rose, Tomline and Addington, admitted that he took too much wine ; and in the concluding years of his life this indulgence undoubtedly affected his complexion and prematurely whitened his hair—as we may see from the last picture of him painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence a little while before the end. Sir William Napier, who was more than once at his table in 1804, said that at dinner he “ generally drank a bottle, or nearly so, of port, in a rapid succession of glasses, but when he recovered his strength from this stimulant he ceased to drink ”.² Perhaps the most tell-tale description is that of his

¹ *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1891), vol. v. p. 2.

² *Life*, vol. i. p. 28.

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colleague, cousin and friend, Grenville, who in a letter to Samuel Rogers¹ said : “ In his earlier life he was gay and delightful in conversation. At last his temper clouded. Dr. Addington² ruined his health. Port wine was Addington’s great remedy ; and at Hayes (Lord Chatham’s seat) I used to wonder at the bumpers they were drinking, confined as I was to water. Afterwards it became necessary to him, and though never more affected by it than others in general, he certainly drank freely.”

Practically the same verdict was given by the Duke of Wellington, who was only ten years younger than Pitt, and could speak from personal knowledge as well as with high authority. In conversation in 1843,

“ He denied that Pitt’s death was occasioned by the defeats at Ulm and at Austerlitz. He said that his constitution, originally a weak one, was destroyed by long and previous exertions in the House of Commons, and by deluging his stomach with port wine and water, which he drank to excess, in order to give a false and artificial stimulus to his nervous system.”³

When he was acting as Colonel of the Cinque Ports Volunteers, Pitt was constantly in uniform at Walmer—and is so depicted in the contemporary cartoons. Lord Stanhope told Lord Granville that Pitt, Lord Carrington and the other officers of the

¹ *Recollections of Samuel Rogers*, p. 189.

² Father of the Prime Minister.

³ *Journal of T. Raikes* (1857), vol. iv. p. 287.

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Ports habitually appeared in uniform ; and this would appear to have been the official Cinque Ports uniform of blue with red collar and facings such as was afterwards worn by the Duke of Wellington.

We have seen that Pitt took credit to himself for the embellishment of Walmer, and he is generally credited with having added the Georgian red-brick wing on the seaward bastions, which, as has been shown, had been built nearly three-quarters of a century earlier for the Duke of Dorset. Currency is given to this legend by an anecdote which was inscribed by Sir George Dasent in Lady Granville's autograph book at Walmer to the following effect :

“ Shortly after Mr. Pitt had appointed Lord Carrington Captain of Deal Castle, the Lord Warden began his alterations at Walmer Castle which made the sea front very much as it now is. It then occurred to the Captain of Deal Castle that it too required alteration, and he set to work on a scale much exceeding the buildings at Walmer Castle. When the works at both Castles were complete, Lord Carrington went to Mr. Pitt and said, ‘ I suppose the time is now come when we may apply to the Treasury to defray the cost of our alterations ’. To which Mr. Pitt sternly replied, ‘ Whatever alterations we have made must be paid for out of our own pockets ’. The result was, said Bishop Wilberforce, who told me this story, that Lord Carrington had to pay several thousand pounds,¹ which he did not at all like, though he left his Castle with far

¹ Lord Stanhope told Lord Granville that this outlay amounted to £7000.

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better accommodation than that of the Lord Warden."

It is a little difficult to extract the wheat from the chaff in this story; for the seaward wing had been built at Deal (*vide* Buck's engraving of 1735) at the same time as that at Walmer. I can only conclude that Lord Carrington pulled down the earlier erection and rebuilt it in another and more imposing form; and this belief is confirmed by a passage in the Private Diary of Lord Dalhousie, when he was made Captain of Deal Castle in 1843, in which he wrote:

"Along the face of the Tower (*i.e.* the Keep of Deal Castle) towards the sea, Lord Carrington, the last Captain but one, built a long edifice in which are several good rooms, and very much improved the whole thing as a residence."

As regards Walmer I have never been able to satisfy myself as to what exactly Pitt did there, in respect of structural alterations or embellishments. He may have been responsible for the modern arrangement and panelling of the rooms in the projection overlooking the sea; and this hypothesis is supported by the Carrington anecdote.¹ He may

¹ It is also confirmed, for what it may be worth, by a passage in Hasted's *Kent* (vol. x. p. 24), which was published in 1800: "The apartments towards the sea have been modernised and handsomely fitted up, and have been made use of for some time past by the Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden for his residence in these parts." On the other hand, the idea that Pitt himself erected the red-brick projection—which he certainly did not—appears to have been prevalent in the Duke of Wellington's time. *Vide Personal Reminiscences* by Rev. C. R. Gleig (1904), p. 136.

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have converted the principal bedrooms on the first floor, including his own workroom, into their present form, or he may have built the rooms on the S.E. bastion which were afterwards occupied by the Duke of Wellington. There is no trustworthy evidence on these points. As to the identity of Pitt's own room (as I have said, I think it must have been his study, and not always his sleeping-room), there is fortunately no doubt. It is the dark and rather gloomy apartment that still bears his name. But by this room there hangs a double tale.

Thirty years later, when Talleyrand came as Ambassador to England in the reign of Louis Philippe, and went to stay at Walmer with the Duke of Wellington, he asked the latter particularly to put him into Pitt's room, and seemed to occupy it with a sense of triumph. Lord Stanhope, who told the tale to Lord Granville, added that Talleyrand's idea was that he had been treated rather slightly by Pitt, when he came over to England as Secretary to M. Chauvelin in 1792, and that to sleep in his rival's bed was like taking a *revanche*. I doubt if he did sleep in Pitt's bed, for the latter was a narrow camp or canvas bed (which I found in the Castle¹ and made an heirloom)—unlikely to have been assigned to a guest who was also an Ambassador; and Pitt's sitting-room was, as I have shown, by no means certainly his bedroom.

More interesting, however, is it to determine the exact cause of Talleyrand's spleen. Two

¹ The authority for identifying this bed as having belonged to Pitt is not stated by Lord Curzon.—ED.

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passages throw a light upon this. Greville in his *Memoirs* mentions a conversation with Talleyrand on January 22, 1833, in which he had reminded the latter that he and Pitt had once lived together at Rheims for six weeks, teaching each other French and English. "But the dispute arose from Talleyrand's visit to England with Chauvelin, when Pitt had been persuaded by the *émigrés* to send him away, and had given him notice to quit England in 24 hours. He had spent three weeks aboard the vessel in which he was leaving for America, and which was detained at Greenwich, sooner than set foot on English ground again."¹

Lord Holland gives a slightly different and more personal explanation. His version is that Talleyrand was offended because, when he came over to England with Chauvelin, and again when he was removed under the Aliens Act, Pitt never referred to their earlier acquaintance at Rheims: Lord Holland goes on to suggest that Pitt may conceivably not have recognised in the *Evêque d'Autun* or the M. de Talleyrand of 1792 the Abbé de Périgord of 1783; but this seems a rather far-fetched explanation.²

The second incident arose in connection with the visit of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort to Walmer, as the guests of the Duke of Wellington, in the late autumn of 1842. Lord Dalhousie, just after his appointment to Deal Castle in January 1843, was shown over Walmer by Captain Watts,

¹ *Memoirs of the Reigns of George IV. and William IV.*, vol. ii. p. 345.

² *Memoirs of the Whig Party* (1854), vol. ii. pp. 260-61.

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the last of the resident Captains of the Castle, and left this on record in his Diary :

“ When the Queen resided here last autumn, the Lord Chamberlain’s people made sad work of some parts of the Castle, knocking up and knocking down in all directions. One alteration in particular is much regretted. They ran up a partition and divided into parts, for a temporary dining-room, Mr. Pitt’s *own* room, which he always used and which he chose as his own business room, because, looking out upon the dead wall of the bastion, it afforded nothing to divert his attention.¹ The room stood as Mr. Pitt left it with the same furniture and everything, but the partition has altered its form, and the gay new paper with which they covered the walls has changed its character.”

Dr. Alexander Grant, the friend of Dalhousie, gave a slightly different version of the same incident :

“ Pitt’s room was the most gloomy one there, with one window only, and that looking on a bastion and an old gun. Here he used to work free from distraction. It remained in the same condition, as he left it, till about 1842, when the Queen went to Walmer for change of air. The Clerk of the Works preceded her and partitioned off and

¹ The outlook is now different, but not less sombre, for on the leads immediately outside the window is placed the bell-cote and bell—bearing the initials C.R., *i.e.* Charles II.—which hung originally over the entrance gateway of the Castle, and afterwards in the central tower or Keep, until moved by Lord Granville to its present position. The further view from Pitt’s window is now closed by the tower of Lord Granville’s addition.

END OF THE DINING-ROOM WITH MEDALLION PORTRAIT OF MR. Pitt IN SIDEBOARD

The silver oar seen above it is the symbol of office of the Judge of the
Admiralty Court of the Lord Warden



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papered Pitt's room in a very tawdry fashion, at which the Duke swore lustily.”¹

Of the truth of the last touch we may rest fully assured. Lord Stanhope, in his Communication to Lord Granville in 1866, spoke of the wall of Pitt's room as having been pulled down so as to join it to another apartment and make a new dining-room (for the suite) and as having been put back on the departure of the Queen. This, I expect, is what actually took place, though the point is one of small importance. At a later date the room was slightly contracted by the construction of a staircase to the attics by Lord Granville: and later still the walls were match-boarded by Lady Salisbury. A coat of white paint put on by Lord Brassey has added to the cheerfulness of the chamber, which is now a bedroom, the slip or annexe out of it, in which he is generally supposed to have slept—and where a century later I discovered his camp-bed amid a pile of lumber—having now been converted into a bath-room. There is not at present a single article of furniture in the apartment that belonged to Pitt, of whom the sole relic is a print of the drawing made by Edridge in 1801, which Pitt's relatives declared to be the best likeness of him ever executed.²

In the other rooms of the Castle are a number of articles which may with some certainty be identified with Pitt's occupation of Walmer. These

¹ Alexander Grant, *Physician and Friend* (1902), p. 171.

² Duchess of Cleveland, p. 37.

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are: (1) A set of eight satin-wood arm-chairs ; (2) a library reading-chair (upholstered in scarlet leather, with a book-rest at the back) on which the occupant sits astride ; (3) a set of four Hepplewhite arm-chairs, identical with a suite that belonged to the first Lord Chatham ; (4) a set of ten mahogany Chippendale dining-room chairs and two arm-chairs, always used in the Dining-Room ; (5) a set of six mahogany dining-room or smoking-room chairs ; (6) Pitt's camp-bed, before described ; (7) a few of the engravings on the walls, *e.g.* of Sir Ralph Abercromby. Probably some other pieces of furniture ordinarily associated with the Duke of Wellington had also been there in Pitt's time. Had the policy of treating as national property the most interesting of the articles preserved at Walmer been started a hundred or even fifty years earlier, we might in imagination have joined with even greater facility the remarkable company that so often gathered round William Pitt during the years of his Wardenship, from 1792 to 1805.

Pitt left a relic of his occupation of Walmer in the person of a housekeeper who married a Deal boat-owner and settled down at the latter place. This individual, who was a very respectable character, had an exceedingly narrow escape of his life soon after Pitt's death : for one of his boats having assisted in the rescue of a ship which had been wrecked on the Goodwin Sands in 1807, the unfortunate man was arrested on the charge of having appropriated a missing cask of rum from the wreck, was taken to London for trial and sentenced to



MR. PITTS'S READING-CHAIR

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death. It is to the credit of Lady Hester Stanhope that, convinced of his innocence, as indeed was the entire neighbourhood, she exerted herself vigorously on his behalf, and did not desist until he had received a free pardon from the Crown.¹

¹ Pritchard's *Deal*, pp. 214-15.

CHAPTER VI

ROBERT BANKS JENKINSON, LORD HAWKESBURY
(SECOND EARL OF LIVERPOOL)

1806–28

No sooner had Pitt passed away than the King, who, as we have seen, made a point of treating the Cinque Ports as a piece of private patronage, resolved to confer them, before a new Ministry could be formed, upon Lord Hawkesbury, and in less than a week the appointment was made and the patent issued.

We have already encountered this nobleman in connection with the Cinque Ports Fencibles and later the Cinque Ports Volunteers, of both of which corps, no doubt in consequence of his Parliamentary connection with the Borough of Rye, and his friendship with Pitt, he had been made Colonel. Born in 1770, the same year as George Canning, he was a contemporary and friend of the latter at Christ Church, Oxford, and seems, at any rate in the earlier part of his Parliamentary career, to have been a favourite object of Canning's insatiable chaff. The latter was always making fun of

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Jenkinson, as his name then was;¹ he called him Jinks, Jenks and Jawkes in his private letters and squibs; and when Jenkinson first took command of the Fencible Cavalry in 1792, he wrote to E. B. Wilbraham (afterwards Lord Skelmersdale) on December 4, 1792 :

“ Jenkinson has resolved upon leading a corps of dragoons himself—in spite of my representation to him that his knowledge of musick better qualified him to be a trumpeter.”²

Indeed, in his earlier days, Jenkinson seems to have been generally and benevolently derided, even by his friends, and hardly to have suggested the qualities that afterwards enabled him to out-distance political rivals much more brilliant than himself, and to remain Prime Minister for a continuous period (1812–27), second only in duration to the tenure of that office by Pitt himself. When Pitt resigned office in 1801, Hawkesbury,³ who throughout his life was endowed with a measure of political flexibility that enabled him both to serve many masters and to command manifold subordinates, became Foreign Secretary in Addington’s administration—an appointment of which Lady Malmesbury reflected the general opinion

¹ He was the eldest son of Charles Jenkinson, one of the more obscure of Pitt’s earlier colleagues, who had been created firstly Baron Hawkesbury and afterwards Earl of Liverpool by his chief.

² *George Canning and His Friends*, edited by Capt. J. Bagot (1909), vol. i. p. 34.

³ He had succeeded to this courtesy title in 1796, when his father was created an Earl.

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of society when she said, in a letter to Rev. John Sneyd, of February 13, 1801 :

“ Only think of Jenky as Secretary of State. I cannot endure that, nor will you, I think, easily.”¹

As Foreign Secretary he negotiated the illusory and unpopular Treaty of Amiens in 1802. In 1803, during the lifetime of his father, he had (rather against his will) been called up to the House of Lords by writ, with the title which he already bore as an eldest son ; he had assisted to bring about the reconciliation of Pitt and Addington in 1804, and when Pitt’s last Ministry was formed he became Home Secretary and Leader in the Lords —a post which he continued to hold even after Addington, a former Prime Minister, entered the House as Lord Sidmouth. On the death of his chief, Hawkesbury was one of the few members of a fatally discredited Cabinet (the result in the main of the Melville scandal) who could even be thought of as a successor, and he was one of the three statesmen—the two others being Sidmouth and Wellesley, fresh home from India—to whom the King turned unsuccessfully before confiding the almost impossible task to Grenville. Hawkesbury declined the honour, but accepted the Cinque Ports.

How little he appears at this time to have established a firm position in public esteem is evident from the comments that were excited by the appointment. On January 26 F. Horner wrote in his Diary :²

¹ *George Canning and His Friends*, vol. i. p. 127.

² Vol. i. p. 330.

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“ One story last night was that Lord Hawkesbury had, with the approval of the rest of the Cabinet, accepted the Office of First Lord of the Treasury the evening before, together with the Cinque Ports, but that, after considering it, they took fright, and when the King came to town, told him they could not venture to go on.”

On January 27, Fox, in the speech in the Commons in which he resisted, on public grounds, the proposal to give a public funeral and to erect a monument to Pitt, spoke thus of the already prevalent rumour as to his successor :

“ In the course of the long administration of Mr. Pitt, all that he took for himself was, I believe, the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. This was certainly in him highly disinterested ; and his disinterestedness in this respect shines with the more lustre when we consider the mode in which, according to report, this reward has since been disposed of.”

On January 29 we find Lord Sheffield writing to Lord Auckland :

“ I had flattered myself that the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports would be given to Lord Chatham. Mr. Jenkinson’s wavering disposition will revolt the whole country. The inattention to the family of Pitt is strongly marked.”¹

Charles Abbot, the Speaker of the House of

¹ *Correspondence of William, First Lord Auckland* (1862), vol. iv. p. 269.

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Commons, afterwards the first Lord Colchester, wrote in his Diary :¹

“A general dissatisfaction expressed at the appointment of Lord Hawkesbury to be Warden of the Cinque Ports.”

There seems to have been a universal consensus that Lord Hawkesbury’s abilities or services hardly justified so great an honour, and that the vacant chair required a bigger man. Nevertheless, unless a Minister was to resist the strongly expressed and generous wish of the Sovereign, there was precisely the same justification for Hawkesbury in accepting the office as there had been in the case of Pitt and North. For, as his biographer tells us :

“George III. insisted on Lord Hawkesbury, as he then was, accepting the post, just as he had insisted on Pitt; he overruled all Hawkesbury’s objections and was determined to regard the post as his one private piece of patronage.”²

The public career of Lord Hawkesbury³ does not directly concern us in these pages. His private life was not, as in the case of Pitt and Wellington, a part of his public life, but was secluded, uninteresting and mildly obscure. Walmer Castle, though he

¹ *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 32.

² *Life of Lord Liverpool*, by C. D. Yonge (1868), vol. i. p. 209.

³ He led the Opposition during the Grenville Administration, again became Home Secretary in the Portland Ministry of 1807–9, succeeded his father in the higher title in 1808, filled the War Office under Perceval, 1809–12, and, upon the assassination of the latter, succeeded him as head of the Government—a post which he filled, contrary to all expectations, and in spite of many mistakes, for fifteen years until he was incapacitated by a paralytic seizure on February 15, 1827.

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stayed there constantly, particularly in the last decade of his life, was no longer the stage on which great scenes were enacted or dramatic figures moved, and his biographer, who managed to fill three volumes with the record of his political doings, has not a word to say about his existence as Lord Warden, and indeed expressly avows that his private life was so uneventful that there was nothing to be said about it.

Occasionally in the Memoirs or Correspondence of the period we obtain a glimpse of this impalpable Lord Warden at his Castle. The *Castlereagh Correspondence* contains letters from him to Castlereagh, dated from Walmer, on October 5, 17 and 20, 1815,¹ and again on October 23, 1818,² when Lord Bathurst, Secretary for War and the Colonies, was his guest. From Walmer on November 4 in the same year he wrote the letter to the Duke of Wellington offering him the post of Master-General of Ordnance (in succession to Lord Mulgrave), which he held for so many years.

Wherein, the question may well be asked, lay the secret, if not of Liverpool's success, at least of his long and uncontested tenure of power? George III. said of him that he had "No head for business, no method, and no punctuality".³ George IV. had no liking for him and always did business, if he could, with some other prominent member of the Cabinet, such as Castlereagh or Wellington. And yet he was the Minister who

¹ Third Series, vol. iii. pp. 47, 51, 55. ² *Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 61, 63-71.

³ *Diaries and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury*, vol. iii. p. 416.

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finally beat Napoleon and was Premier for fifteen years ! The answer seems to lie in the fact that Liverpool was a man of uncommonly good Parliamentary abilities, who excited few animosities, provoked no jealousy, and was preferred to more brilliant but dangerous compeers. His appointment as Prime Minister in 1812 was largely a matter of luck, for George IV., as Regent, chose him to succeed Perceval in the main out of spite against Grey and Sheridan, who wanted the post either for Moira (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) or Grey himself. Moira, as a matter of fact, and Wellesley were both sent for by the Regent, but both failed to form an Administration.

Tierney—the *paris altera* of the duel with Pitt—who had great Parliamentary experience, said of Liverpool in 1813 that “ he was one of the most prudent Ministers and debaters in Parliament he ever knew, and that he was, besides, a man in the House of Lords who was ready to turn out in all weathers ”.¹ And the Duke of Wellington, also no mean opinion, once told George Smythe that he “ remembered only two speakers who were quite sure of themselves—who knew exactly what they were going to say. These two were Mr. Pitt and Lord Liverpool.”²

We may conclude therefore that the latter possessed a combination of qualities superior to those with which he has usually been credited by the political historian. He had an imperturbable

¹ *The Glenbervie Journals* (1910), p. 203.

² *Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*, by Earl Stanhope, p. 164.

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temper, a good deal of tact, and the administrative aptitude which comes from prolonged experience. In domestic life he would appear to have been the most irreproachable and colourless of men.

I have seen a considerable number of private letters written by him from Walmer over a long period of years to his brother-in-law, Lord Bristol.¹ They are the dullest of effusions, brief and jejune, dealing with such conventional topics as the weather, the crops, health and so on. How tame —after the exciting details of Pitt's maladies at Walmer, and the throng of physicians, friends and relatives who flocked to the Castle to treat or console him—it is to read his successor's words (October 15, 1822) :

“ I am much obliged to you for your enquiries after my health. I am much better already for the rest of this Place and hope to be able to remain here till the 13th or 14th of November.”

We hear of the Lord Warden going there both in the spring and, more regularly, in the autumn.² Occasionally a familiar name appears among the visitors—*e.g.* Castlereagh in 1815, Canning in 1819, Wellington in 1821, Wilberforce in 1825 ; and there may have been many more, but no diarist has thought it worth while to record their movements or sayings. Only once in this particular correspondence

¹ Lord Liverpool had married in 1795, as his first wife, Lady Louisa Hervey, who died in June 1821 ; and his picture by Sir T. Lawrence still hangs at Ickworth.

² His other places of residence were Fife House in London and Coombe Wood near Kingston.

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does Lord Liverpool venture upon a political utterance ; and this is when, five months after Waterloo, he writes to Lord Bristol from Walmer to tell him what the Arbuthnots¹ had reported from Paris :

“ The military system from which Europe has suffered so much is quite broken, and if the ultra Royalists can be kept within reasonable bounds, there is every reason to hope that the Internal Government will acquire stability and confidence and the Peace of the country be preserved. There could be no doubt that with a Popular successor all would be well, but the extraordinary Bigotry of Monsieur and of the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême and the coarse Brutality and Profligacy of Berry are seriously to be lamented, in such times and under such circumstances.”

In the summer of 1820 the Lord Warden, anticipating the action of Wellington at a later date, lent the Castle to the Duke and Duchess of Clarence (afterwards King William IV. and Queen Adelaide) for the sake of the health of the Duchess, which was greatly improved by the sojourn there. Two years before, she had landed for the first time on British soil at Deal, when coming from her German home.

On September 3, 1823, a very different and uninvited visitor, William Cobbett, sat down at Sandwich to describe his ride that day from Dover

¹ The friends of the Duke of Wellington, of whom we shall hear more later.

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to Sandwich, in the course of which he had halted at Walmer :

“ When I came to the village of Walmer I enquired for the Castle—that famous place where Pitt, Dundas, Perceval¹ and all the whole tribe of plotters against the French Revolution had carried on their plots. After coming through the village of Walmer, you see the entrance to the Castle away to the right. It is situated pretty nearly on the water’s edge, and at the bottom of a little dell, about a furlong or so from the turnpike road. This is now the habitation of our Great Minister, Robert Bankes (*sic*) Jenkinson, son of Charles of that name. When I was told by a girl, who was leasing² in a field by the roadside, that that was Walmer Castle, I stopped short, pulled my horse round, looked steadfastly at the gateway, and could not help exclaiming : Oh, thou who inhabitest that famous dwelling ! thou who hast always been in place, let who might be out of place ! Oh, oh, thou Everlasting placeman ! thou sage of ‘over-production’, do but cast thine eyes upon this barley-field, where, if I am not greatly deceived, there are from seven to eight quarters upon the acre ! Oh, thou whose *Courier* newspaper has just informed its readers that wheat will be seventy shillings the quarter in the month of November ! Oh, thou wise

¹ I can find no evidence that Perceval was much, if at all, at Walmer. He only entered Parliament, as a supporter of Pitt, in 1796. During Addington’s administration he was a Law Officer of the Crown and in opposition to Pitt. But he retained office when the latter returned to power in 1804, and he may have been a guest at Walmer in 1804–5.

² *I.e.* gleaning.

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man, I pray thee come forth from thy Castle, and tell me what thou wilt do if wheat should happen to be, at the appointed time, 35 shillings instead of 70 shillings the quarter. Sage of ‘over-production’, farewell. If thou hast life, thou wilt be Minister as long as thou canst pay the interest of the Debt in full, but not for one moment longer. The moment thou ceasest to be able to squeeze from the Normans a sufficiency to count down to the Jews their full tale, that moment, thou great stern-path-of-duty man, thou wilt begin to be taught the true meaning of the words *Ministerial Responsibility.*”

Cobbett, turned Radical, perambulating the English counties and soliloquising as he went, was not likely to be a very partial critic of the Lord Warden in his Castle. But his language is significant of the impression produced, at any rate upon political opponents, by Liverpool’s limpet-like adherence to office and power.

Apart from his political or private life, Liverpool was one of the most public-spirited and generous benefactors to the estate of Walmer Castle, and one of the most faithful custodians of its amenities, in the long line of Lords Warden. In fact, it is owing to him that the Castle has remained an independent demesne, with its own small park, instead of being swallowed up in a plantation of villas ; and Dorset, Pitt, Liverpool and Granville are the four names which should always be held in honour for kindred services by their successors.

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We have seen in discussing the circumstances of Pitt that he held nearly forty acres of ground around the Castle, as the tenant of the Lord of the Manor of Walmer, Mr. George Leith. Lord Liverpool was the first Lord Warden by an act of remarkable generosity to secure these lands for the Castle in perpetuity. On January 26, 1810, he purchased for the sum of £4400 from George Leith the fee-simple of the two first plots described on p. 124 of this book, and the life occupancy, rent free, of the third plot (including the Glen). Two years later, George Leith having died in the interim and been succeeded by his son, George John Percy Leith, Lord Liverpool purchased from the latter for £300, by a second deed dated April 4, 1812, the fee-simple of the third plot also, thus completing the acquisition of the whole of the grounds essential to the privacy of the Castle.

Nor did he stop there. He followed the purchase of 1810 by deeds dated December 21 and 22, 1810, in which he conveyed to family Trustees the two first plots; and the purchase of 1812 by deeds of September 13 and 14, 1821, in which he conveyed the third plot to the same Trustees, to hold the premises to the use of himself for life, and after his death to the use of the Trustees.

“ Upon Trust and to the intent and purpose that they and the survivors or survivor of them and the Heirs and assigns of such survivor do and shall at all times from and after the decease of the said Robert Banks Earl of Liverpool, permit or suffer the said lands and hereditaments hereby granted

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and released or expressed or intended so to be and every of them and every part thereof with their appurtenances to be held used and occupied possessed and enjoyed together with Walmer Castle aforesaid by the Lord Warden of his Majesty's Cinque Ports for the time being in such and the same manner to all intents and purposes as if the same lands were part of the precincts in territory of the said Castle by grant or prescriptions belonging to the said Lord Warden for the time being by virtue of his office."

Liverpool seems to have devoted himself energetically to carrying on the improvements in planting, etc., inaugurated by Pitt ; and a private letter from his wife's sister Mary, Countess of Erne (eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Bristol, who was also Bishop of Derry), to her daughter Lady Caroline Stuart - Wortley, afterwards Lady Wharncliffe— alludes thus to a visit at Walmer, on September 24, 1820 :

" I arrived first yesterday, and as it was so fine, insisted upon Lord Liverpool shewing me all his improvements. They really are very great. The plantation has grown and flourish'd so as to afford a great deal of shady and shelter'd walking—and there is besides a sea-walk (as he calls it) which for the purpose of taking sea-views into one's eyes, and sea air into one's lungs and all one's pores, is perfect. I knocked myself completely up—but have recruited a little by about *twelve* hours in bed, and I do not grudge my fatigue. . . . I have got

THE SEA FROM THE RAMPARTS



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the room here which was Mr. Pitt's own—and which still goes by *his name!*"

With regard to the sea-walk, on the top of the beach in front of the Castle, this appears from the evidence of the plan attached to the Leith conveyance in 1810 to have been originally made by Pitt. But in 1819 Lord Liverpool gave a sum of £80 for its extension as a cart-road towards Kingsdown, and it was called after him the Liverpool Walk. At a later date again, in 1887, this road was asphalted and converted into a footpath as far as the bungalows that now make an eyesore of the coast in the Kingsdown direction—when it was characteristically renamed the Marina! What a descent from Pitt through Liverpool to the Marina!

It is generally conjectured that the lower battery of the Castle immediately overlooking the sea-road must have been constructed by Pitt at the time that he was re-modelling the coast-defences against the French, and such would seem to be the most natural hypothesis. But the evidence of the six guns on this section of the ramparts, which is ordinarily cited in support of this belief,¹ is really antagonistic; for they are 9-pounders bearing the monogram and date G.R. 1812, from which it would appear that they were placed there in the time of Liverpool. These ramparts are on the site of a low natural cliff which once separated the outer walls of the moat from the shore on this side. In the Castle itself I can only recall one unmistakable relic

¹ E.g. Elvin, p. 24.

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of Lord Liverpool's reign—viz. a stool covered with needlework in worsted, bearing the initials and coronet of his wife.¹ I was further told that the tinted glass in several of the sash windows of the Castle was introduced because one of his two Countesses had weak eyes, but I should not like to vouch for this legend.

Lord Liverpool was no less a benefactor to the parish of Walmer than to the Castle. In 1816 he gave £150 towards the enlargement of the old Parish Church (disused and employed only for occasional services since the erection of a new Church in 1888), and £50 to a further extension in 1826. He also presented the Communion Plate—two silver cups, made in 1784 for his father, and a silver salver, dated 1813—to the old Church in 1820; and his first wife gave a handsomely bound Bible and Prayer-Book.

Like Pitt, Lord Liverpool rented for a time the cottage at the entrance to the Castle Meadow, from the village, and ultimately bought it from the younger Leith in 1812, bequeathing it to his wife. After his death it was again conveyed in 1829 to Leith, in whose family it has remained ever since, with the designation Liverpool House, which it still retains. So short is local memory and so indifferent to bygone fame that, when I occupied Walmer, I do not think there was a single person in the parish who knew that it was the very house (with additions) where the illustrious Pitt had lodged his friends.

¹ Not now extant.—ED.

ROBERT BANKS JENKINSON

Liverpool enjoyed one unique distinction : he was the last Lord Warden to draw a salary from his office, and thereby to offer a target to the crowd that is always ready in any emoluments to scent political corruption. The House of Commons Select Committee on Finance recommended in their Report of 1817 that the salary should cease at the next vacancy. Accordingly, on his death in 1828 (he had been stricken with paralysis in February 1827), the payment of £3000 per annum which had previously been borne on the Civil List was carried to the credit of the Consolidated Fund. On the accession of William IV. and the resettlement of the Civil List in 1830 the item was struck out, and the office of Lord Warden for the first time in its history became a distinction, the obligatory disbursements of which greatly exceed the petty and now extinct payments which still nominally survived.

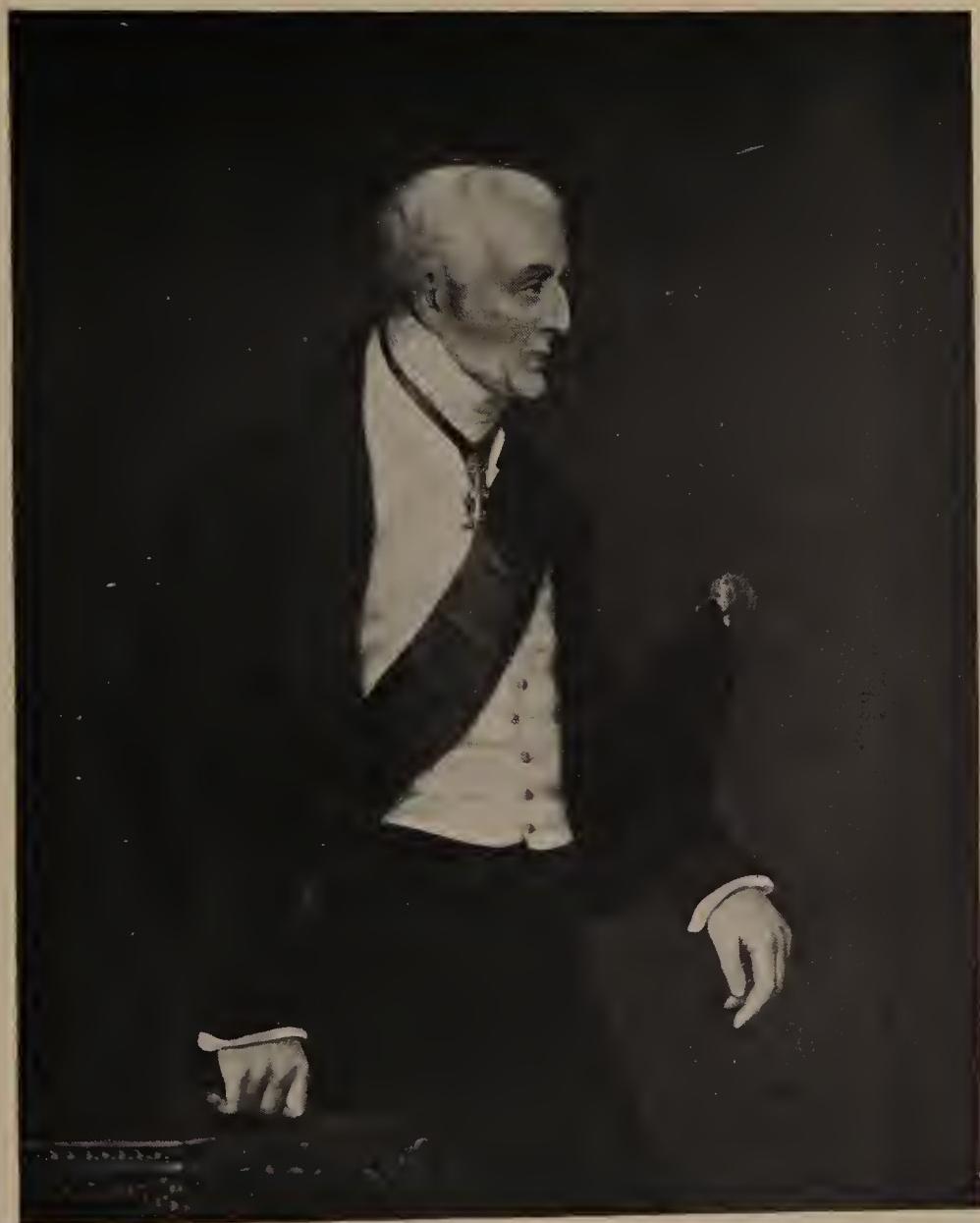
CHAPTER VII

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, FIRST DUKE OF WELLINGTON

1829-1852

WHEN Lord Liverpool's death left the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports vacant, little was left to bestow except an honour, since the salary which made it a lucrative sinecure was abolished. But the office had been held by three Prime Ministers in succession, and the Prime Minister at the time when the vacancy occurred was the Duke of Wellington. To him it was inevitably offered; and on January 20, 1829, he was appointed, being then in his sixtieth year. For the remaining twenty-three years of his life Walmer Castle was one of his homes, and it was the scene of his death.

Everything about the Duke's existence was strongly stamped with his personal character; and it is characteristic that he appears to have assumed office without any of the traditional ceremonies. Yet in 1829 the head of the administration had more urgent preoccupations. In Ireland the agitation for Catholic Emancipation had assumed a magnitude that threatened civil war, and the Duke of Wellington felt it necessary to concede a measure



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G.

From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery painted by Count Alfred D'Orsay

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which he had always opposed—though without strong convictions. There was much indignation among those who regarded this as a betrayal, and Lord Winchilsea used language publicly for which the Duke demanded an apology ; and, not receiving one, sent his second with a challenge, and insisted on a meeting. It took place on Battersea Green. As the seconds were placing the combatants, the Duke cried out : “Don’t stick him up there. If I hit him, he’ll tumble into the ditch.” But the exchange of shots was formal, the Duke firing first, deliberately wide, after which Lord Winchilsea fired into the air, and then expressed his regret in terms which were accepted.

Long afterwards, at Walmer, Lord Ellesmere¹ heard the story of an old pensioner who had made part of the crowd which gathered to look on. The old soldier said : “I saw him riding through Battersea and I saw that *there was mischief in his eye*, so I followed and saw what happened ”.

In 1830 England was almost as threatening as Ireland had been. The country was agitating for Reform, and Wellington set his face against any material alteration of the franchise.

The death of George IV. on June 26 took place while the agitation concerning Reform was at its height, and the accession of William IV. was followed by a vote in the House of Commons which showed that Ministers had lost much of their support.

¹ *Personal Reminiscences of the Duke of Wellington*, by Francis first Earl of Ellesmere, p. 183.

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Parliament was dissolved. In the general election the Duke forbade all his officials at the Cinque Ports to canvass in his name or interfere in any way on his behalf in the election. The result of the polls left it uncertain how the House of Commons might act; but the country was full of blazing ricks and of riot.

At this moment the first railway ever constructed for passengers was opened between Liverpool and Manchester, and the Duke as Prime Minister came from Walmer Castle to take his part in the ceremony. Two trains, one of three carriages, the other of six, left Liverpool on September 15 to run to Manchester, at the speed of fifteen miles an hour. At a halt, Mr. Huskisson, member for Liverpool, got out of his carriage to speak to the Duke, who shook hands with him from the window, Huskisson being between the two lines of track. The other train unexpectedly moved on, and Huskisson, trying to climb into the Duke's carriage, fell on the track and was crushed.

Mr. Gleig, sometime Chaplain-General to the forces, was at Walmer when the Duke returned from this disastrous excursion—unconvinced.

He believed that it would never become possible rightly to control the movement of carriages propelled on rails by steam; and that the attempt to keep up a continuous speed of more than ten or twelve miles an hour must be attended with great danger. The Duke opposed the London to Southampton project with all his power, and could never be persuaded to travel by rail till

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the impossibility of finding relays of horses along the neglected roads of Kent and Hampshire forced him at last, sorely against his will, to cease from posting.¹

On November 2, when Parliament had reassembled, this staunch Conservative replied to Lord Grey's proposals of Parliamentary reform that, if Great Britain did not possess "such a legislature as we possess now", his whole endeavour would be to frame something "which would produce the same results". Yet he could not hope to succeed, "for the nature of man is incapable of reaching such excellence at once". And, therefore, not only would he not propose a Reform Bill, but "I shall", said he, "always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others".²

A week later, on November 9, the King was to dine with the Lord Mayor in the City. But on the 6th, Peel, then Home Secretary, received a letter from the Lord Mayor warning him that a plot existed to assassinate the Duke as he accompanied King William to the Mansion House, and urging that a strong escort should be taken. Long afterwards the Duke asked a group of younger men what they considered to be the most difficult decision of his life, and he gave the answer himself: to determine whether or not the King should keep his engagement.³ The decision was to cancel it; and this added to the Government's unpopularity.

¹ Gleig, *Life of Wellington*, p. 475 (1862 ed.).

² Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Life of Wellington*, ii. 254.

³ Ellesmere, p. 64.

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On November 12, Ministers were defeated on a Civil List motion by a majority of twenty-nine. The Duke, having surrendered the Seals of Office, retired to Walmer, with a small circle of intimate friends. "His conversation", says Gleig, "was throughout more grave and subdued than on any other occasion we remember it to have been."

"I don't see how these men are to conduct their government", he used to say, "so as to maintain order at home or peace abroad."¹

In March the Reform Bill as first proposed was thrown out and a new general election forced on, amidst rioting. The London mob broke the windows of Apsley House. The newly elected House of Commons carried the Bill, and the Lords, on the Duke's advice, threw it out. There was new and graver disorder. Iron shutters had been put on the windows at Apsley House, but again a sudden volley of stones came shattering in before they could be closed. Even at Walmer there was danger. A plot was laid to attack the Duke's carriage between Sandwich and Deal; but the Duke got wind of it and came down some hours earlier than he was expected; while some gentlemen of the countryside put pistols in their pockets, and, riding in groups, met the Duke's carriage and conveyed it to the drawbridge at Walmer. Yet the Duke had not trusted to his friends only; he had a brace of double-barrelled pistols in the pocket of his britzka, and his servant on the box was armed also.²

¹ Gleig, p. 479.

² *Ibid.* p. 486.

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Such was the state of England in 1831. It should be noted also that when the mob was wrecking Apsley House in April the Duchess of Wellington lay dead within—though they probably did not know this.

Her death did not make any notable alteration in the Duke's life; there was no comradeship in their marriage. The Duchess does not appear to have ever been at Walmer Castle.

There was, naturally, a counter-movement to the Radical agitation. Corps of yeomanry cavalry began to be enrolled, and Lord Winchilsea, the Duke's antagonist in 1829, was at the head of one of the bodies in East Kent; and in the autumn of 1831 the Duke of Wellington was invited over from Walmer to inspect 400 well-mounted and well-armed yeomen at Eastwell Park, Lord Winchilsea's seat, where he was received in the most flattering way.

In the summer of 1832, the deadlock between the two Houses of Parliament still continuing, attempts were made to form a Tory administration; and others refusing, the Duke agreed to attempt the task. He failed, and was faced with the choice between surrender and the risk of seeing the deadlock solved by a creation of peers to swamp the Tory majority. It was on his advice that the Bill was allowed by the Lords to pass.

Less than a month later, on June 18, he rode down, attended by a groom, to visit the Mint, and while returning was recognised on Tower Hill. A hostile mob gathered and followed him up to

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Chancery Lane, with threats of violence. In his own opinion, he owed his safety to two veterans who took up their position, one by each stirrup, and prevented his being forcibly thrown off his horse. From Lincoln's Inn he was accompanied by some friends, to whom he said little ; but as he reached his own door he turned to one of them : "An odd day for them to choose ", he said. No one else had remembered it was the anniversary of Waterloo.

It would seem that in the closing period of his life, which may be dated from his fall from office in 1830, the public at large as well as his circle of friends and acquaintances took special pleasure in seeing him at Walmer Castle. There he was in a sense at home, surrounded by an environment which he to a great extent created ; but there also he was, at least symbolically, a commander at his post of duty. The Castle had its garrison, and during his wardenship a sentry with his halberd kept guard at the gate. The cannon on the ramparts were still serviceable in that outpost which looked across the Channel to that country in which the Duke constantly refused to see anything but an enemy of the past who might be an enemy again.

There is little record of his presence at Walmer in the first year of his Wardenship ; but he came down, for on August 31 he appointed William Denne to be "one of the warreners and game-keepers within the Warren of Dover Castle ".¹ Later,

¹ The right of warren extended (and still extends) from Walmer Castle to Dover, and the present warrener, appointed by Lord Beauchamp, is a namesake and descendant of William Denne.

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the Duke abandoned all game preserving on his own account after the occurrence of a fatal affray between poachers and keepers on his estate at Strathfieldsaye. But whatever charge he undertook he carried out to the letter; and it is safe to suppose that in 1829 he acquainted himself thoroughly with all the duties of his office and took steps accordingly.

In 1830, as has been seen, it was to Walmer that he came during the brief recess which followed his resignation of the seals of office. This, however, was later in the year than the ordinary period of his yearly stay in the Castle, which extended from September into November; a practice settled in the years of his retirement and maintained even when he came back to office.

He had known Walmer long before, in 1806, when, on his return from India, he dropped to the position of commanding a brigade of infantry, quartered in and about Hastings.

“The quiet seaside village had been a favourite retirement of his many years before, and a dwelling of the better class, in Castle Street, Walmer, is to this day (1852) known as ‘the Duke’s House’, and was for some time tenanted by him before entering on his Peninsular campaigns.”

Timbs, from whose *Wellingtoniana* this is quoted, adds :

“Walmer Castle, there is reason to believe, occupies the identical spot whereon Cæsar landed.”¹

¹ *Wellingtoniana*, p. 105.

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The Duke's own opinion as to the place of Cæsar's landing, as was given to Lord Mahon¹ at Walmer on September 26, 1839, was "that he had first attempted it at about the place where Walmer Castle stands—that finding the natives posted he had gone onwards—that he had effected his landing somewhere in the low grounds not far from Sandwich, having the water up to his middle—and had then marched on to the present site of Richborough, where he had entrenched himself".

"I objected", says Lord Stanhope, "that according to this Cæsar would have to cross the river Stour and that there is no mention of any river in the original accounts of his landing either in Cæsar's *Commentaries* or in *Tacitus*."

The Duke replied that there was reason to suppose the river Stour to have had a different outlet in former times—one in a different direction.

Timbs has left a description of Walmer written immediately after the Duke's death.

"The Castle . . . consists of a large central round tower surrounded by an inner wall of considerable strength; the ditch was converted to an excellent (kitchen) garden by the late Duke. Most of the rooms are small, and some very unsystematically proportioned; they are connected by long narrow and circuitous passages, the whole being kept scrupulously neat; while in some of those open to the air, plants and flowering shrubs are ranged along the walls, blooming amid the moss-grown and

¹ The historian, afterwards fifth Earl Stanhope. The quotation is from his *Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*, p. 164.

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crumbling battlements. The furniture of the castle is very plain and the walls of the principal rooms newly decorated with a few prints, left by the previous Lord Warden. The unmistakeable military character of the Duke is evident in the notices placed on many of the doors. ‘Shut this door’—although it may be added that he never addressed a request to any of his attendants without saying ‘Please’. Another memorial of his Grace lay upon his table—small slips on which were printed ‘Avoid to impose upon others the care of original papers which you wish to preserve’.¹

“The Duke . . . occupied only one room, which was his study and bedchamber, and known as ‘the Duke’s room’. It is in one of the smaller towers, of moderate size and was plainly furnished, methodically arranged, something like an officer’s room in a garrison. On the righthand side stood an ordinary iron camp bedstead, three feet wide, with a horsehair mattress about three inches thick and a horsehair pillow covered with chamois leather which the Duke generally carried with him, and used in town. Summer or winter, the little camp bedstead was without curtains, and the German quilt (no blankets) was the covering. On the side of the room nearest the bedstead was a collection of works of the best English writers of Anne’s Augustan age, in poetry and prose; besides recent histories and biographies, some French memoirs, military reports, official publications, parliamentary

¹ One of these was always enclosed in replying to applicants who had sent him the original copy of a testimonial or other document.

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papers—the last that occupied the Duke being the voluminous report of the Oxford University Commission. In the centre of the room was a mahogany table well stained with ink and covered with papers ; and here for some hours every day the Duke sat and wrote. Near this was a more portable table, contrived to be used for reading and writing in bed. This with two or three chairs comprised the furniture, a few common engravings being on the walls papered with a neat pattern, and on the mantelpiece was a small ivory statuette of Napoleon¹ and a common plaster cast of Jenny Lind. . . . The windows look out upon the sea and one of the doors of the room opens upon the ramparts. Until his illness a few years ago the Duke never failed to be there at six o'clock in the morning and spent an hour or more walking before breakfast.”²

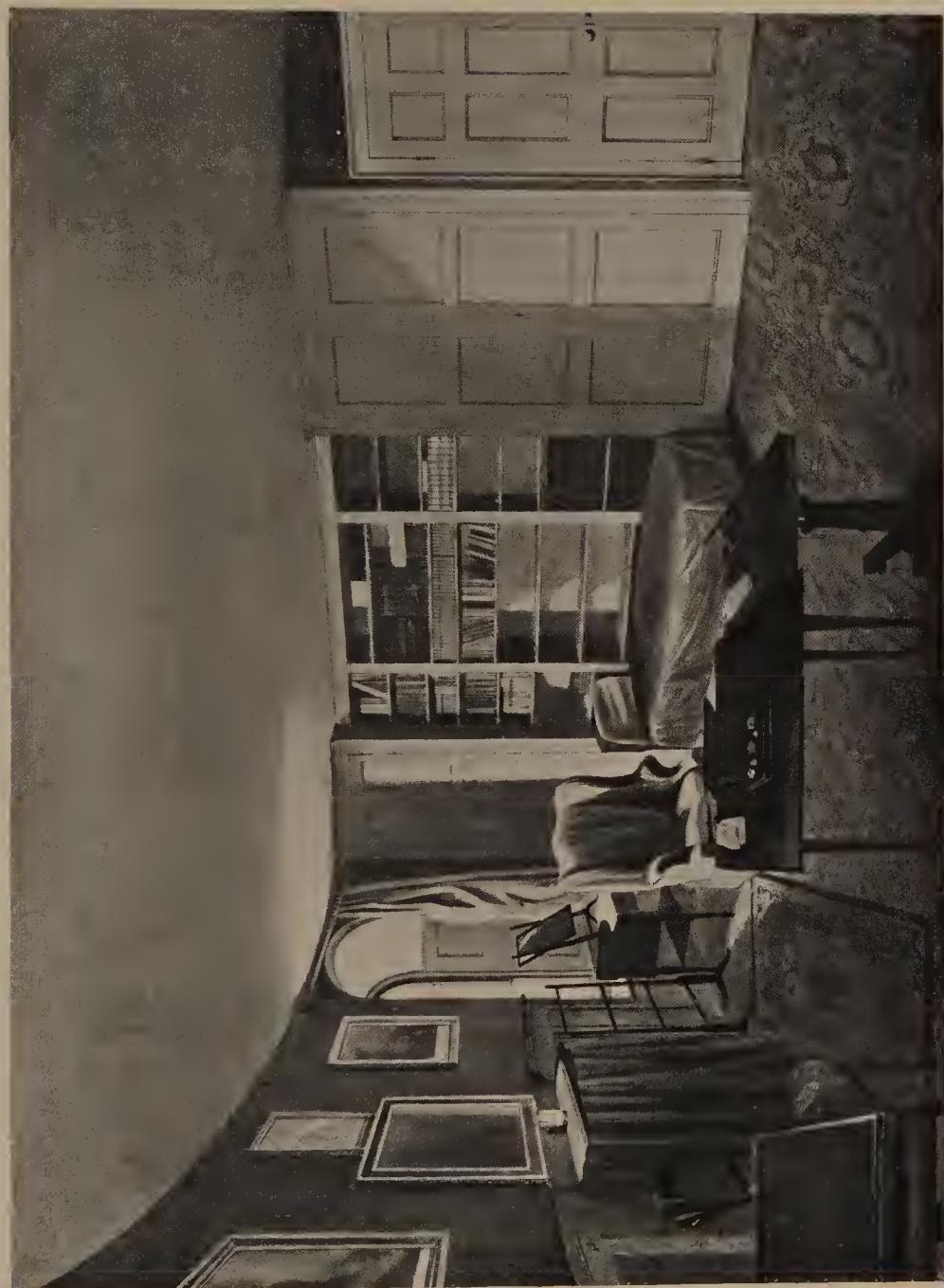
He was surrounded by old retainers ; service with him was an inheritance, and of some value, for he made it a practice never personally to give orders to view his houses ; the domestics in charge used their own discretion, by his desire. Mrs. Allen, for long his housekeeper at Walmer, who remained in office under the two succeeding Lords Warden, is said to have amassed a small fortune by the gifts she received.

The warder and steward of the Castle was Mr. Townsend, an ex-Guardsman who first distinguished himself at the storming of Bergen-op-Zoom under

¹ This statuette was given to the Duke by Lady Mahon : see Stanhope, *Conversations*, p. 99.

² *Wellingtoniana*, p. 108.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ROOM IN WALMER CASTLE
From a lithograph after a drawing by T. Boys made in 1853



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Graham. At Waterloo, as a sergeant of the Grenadiers, he was in the crowning charge ; his halberd was shot from him, a cannon ball took off his shako. He was also a warden of the Tower of London, a post to which the Duke, as Lord High Constable, appointed him.

Many veterans naturally made pilgrimage ; and Timbs relates that one of these, calling to leave his card in the Duke's absence, was shown over the grounds. "He was surprised to observe the number of robins familiarly flitting about and remarked this to the housekeeper. She informed him that the Duke evinced a great fondness for the little birds, and that the people at the Castle, knowing this, gave every encouragement to the colonisation of the robins in the grounds."¹

But there were creatures that the Duke liked even better than robins. Lady Rose Weigall, daughter of the Duke's favourite niece, Lady Burghersh, wrote in April 1892 to Mr. J. L. Pattison :

"I am sometimes inclined to laugh, when I read descriptions of his sternness, at our childish impressions of his house as a Liberty Hall where we could do as we pleased, in contradistinction to my grandfather's² (his elder brother) who was a great martinet, and whom we were afraid of, but we never thought of being the least afraid of the Duke.

"In Lady de Ros's reminiscences she alludes to a nursery émeute at Walmer when the old house-keeper had refused to send up some jam, and the

¹ *Wellingtoniana*, p. 111.

² Lord Maryborough, father of Lady Burghersh.

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Duke interfered—the fact being that one of my brothers (aged about seven) was the spokesman on the occasion with a speech which my mother used often to recall with amusement and at which the Duke himself was said to have been much delighted when she repeated it to him. It was : ‘ Oh ! of course, we can’t ask Mrs. Norman (the housekeeper), but let’s go to the Duke—*anyone* can get *what they like* from him ’—and they did get it.”

Another letter in the correspondence sums up her impression :

“ I don’t think it ever occurred to us that he was a great man, but simply that, of all the relations, he was the one we were most at our ease with, and whom our mother too seemed happiest with.”

But on this theme there is a multitude of testimony.

In 1835 Lady Burghersh wrote to Lord Burghersh¹ on September 8 from Walmer, which had been lent to her for the summer :

“ I have to-day received the kindest letter that ever was from the Duke saying that my staying on here with my family will be the greatest pleasure he can have, and it is impossible that any children of mine can be any annoyance to him. He will let me know as soon as he knows himself when he shall come.”²

Lord Ebury, who was one of the children to

¹ Afterwards eleventh Earl of Westmorland.

² *Correspondence of Priscilla, Countess of Westmorland*, edited by Lady Rose Weigall, p. 39.

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whom the Duke's kindness spread, wrote to Lord Curzon in 1915 :

" All that I remember is . . . that on one occasion the Duke appeared in our quarters, as it might be a Christmas Tree, with quite a number of toys attached to his person, of which he disburdened himself for our benefit, and that Blanche de Ros, a contemporary playing on the ramparts, slipped up and broke her head."

In 1837 Lord Ebury's father, then Lord Robert Grosvenor, was out of health, and went abroad with his wife. From August to November the Duke took charge of their two children, and did the same in 1839, when there seems to have been a whole swarm of young folk about, and the Duke invited all of them to a breakfast given at the Castle to royalties.

" He had just returned from Windsor," says Sir Algernon West (whose father had built himself a house on the shore at Walmer), " where at whist he had won a few shillings, the first that had been coined in the Queen's reign. My sister says : ' We were all playing on the ramparts, and he came up to us, and said to me, " Would you like to have a picture of the Queen ? " and putting his hand into his pocket he brought out three or four of these bright new shillings and gave me one ; seeing my sister looking on very wistfully he added, " And would you like one too ? " I think he gave one also to Miss de Ros and Miss Hardinge.' "¹

¹ *Recollections*, p. 59 (1910).

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Before dinner the Duke usually dressed early—always in his uniform as Lord Warden, blue coat, red collar and facings—and came down to take his part in what the children called the Battle of Waterloo, “ which commenced by one of them throwing a cushion at the newspaper the Duke was reading ”. This is illustrated by a story which William Lord de Ros used to tell. On one occasion he was returning from a visit to Walmer with his wife and his daughter Blanche, then a small child, on a steamer from Deal to London. A passenger came up to Lord de Ros and said : “ I really think you ought to warn your little girl not to romance as she does. She has just told me that this morning she had a pillow-fight with the Duke of Wellington.” “ My dear sir,” said Lord de Ros, “ that is absolutely true.”

Lord Stanhope (then Lord Mahon) writes in his *Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington* of October 22, 1837 :

“ The Duke has now staying with him two little children of Lord and Lady Robert Grosvenor who are gone abroad, and his conduct to these chicks displays a kindheartedness and warmth of feeling such as their own parents could not surpass, but which the Duke displays to all. Lady Mahon was told . . . that the children having expressed their desire to receive letters by the post, the Duke every morning writes a little letter to each of them, containing good advice for the day, which is regularly delivered to them when the post comes in. It also appears that the Duke gratifies Bo, as they

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call little Robert,¹ by playing almost every morning with him at football on the ramparts. We saw him playing with them with cushions in the drawing-room before dinner.”

This kindness was not kept only for friends’ children. There was an order against strangers wandering off the road into the grounds of the Castle, and one day a lady with two children who had strayed in was being warned off when the Duke, riding up by chance, asked what was the matter. The lady nervously explained her mistake and apologised.

“ Oh, never mind, never mind,” was his answer. “ You’re quite welcome to go where you will. And by the by, bring the children here to-morrow at one o’clock and I’ll show them all about the place myself.”

They came and found dinner made ready, with fruit; and then, “ the Duke, after showing them through the Castle and over the garden, hung half a sovereign suspended from a blue ribbon round each of their necks before he sent them away ”.²

He was very fond and proud of Walmer Castle; it was “ the most charming marine residence he had ever seen. The Queen herself has nothing to be compared with it.” So Gleig reports him as saying, with the comment that it was “ one of his amiable

¹ Afterwards Lord Ebury.

² Pritchard’s *Deal*, 1917 ed., p. 382. Pritchard adds that the Duke kept a store of shillings hung in this fashion, on blue or red ribbons, and often when he met a group of children would ask, “ Are you for Navy or Army? ” Those who said “ Navy ” got a blue ribbon shilling, those who said “ Army ” a red one.

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peculiarities that whatever happened to be his own possessed great attractions in his eyes ”.¹ Loss of office left him with much more leisure for enjoyment, and he was at sixty-one a hale, active man, very keen on field sports, “ a quick and tolerably sure shot ”, according to Lord Ellesmere, and much addicted to hunting—though no great performer with hounds. “ The Duke rode good and safe horses,” says Lord Ellesmere, “ and I have seen him take good fences when needful.”² But according to a writer, “ Nim South ”, in the *New Sporting Magazine*, his seat was “ unsightly in the extreme ”, and he got many falls. This observer describes him on one occasion in 1831, when out with hounds, as attired in “ a scarlet frockcoat, a lilac silk waistcoat, kid gloves, and a pair of fustian trousers strapped tightly down over a pair of Wellington boots ”.³

Very many of Stanhope’s *Conversations with the Duke of Wellington* are recorded as taking place when the historian went out with the West Street Harriers, whose meets the Duke constantly attended. He notes on October 17, 1836 :

“ Great heartiness being shown by the other gentlemen on horseback to welcome the Duke, he observed to me: ‘ Nothing the people of this country like so much as to see their great men take part in their amusements. The aristocracy will commit a great error if they ever fail to mix freely with their neighbours.’ ”

¹ Gleig, p. 423.

² Ellesmere, p. 61.

³ Quoted by Maxwell, ii. 277.



THE MOAT, LOOKING SOUTH

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The hunting was plainly not of a character to absorb all other interests : for example, October 16, Monday, 1837 :

“ Met the Duke out hunting. Our chief conversation turned on present politics.”

October 19 :

“ In hunting, conversed with the Duke for nearly four hours—chiefly politics and the news of the day.”

One reason for this detachment may be suggested by a letter from the Duke himself to Lady Salisbury¹ on October 11, 1837 :

“ I have been out what is called hare hunting. But there is not a hare left in the county. I think that the gentlemen begin to be ashamed of asking me to subscribe to the hounds.”

Stanhope also writes, October 26, 1839 :

“ Out with the Duke ‘hare hunting, or rather hunting without hares, for there are hardly any this season.’ ”²

In 1838 an entry records that the Duke had “ an alarming fall ” when out with the harriers, but was none the worse, and appeared at dinner (being then in his seventieth year).

Occasionally the West Street pack ran a fox. Occasionally also there is mention of the Duke’s going stag-hunting at Waldershare, Lord Guilford’s

¹ Frances Mary, first wife of the second Marquis of Salisbury.

² Stanhope, p. 283.

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seat, or with his former antagonist Lord Winchilsea at Eastwell Park. Here on November 18, 1832, he wrote to Lady Salisbury that they captured seventeen bucks in one day with hounds.

From 1830 onward his only public duties were those of Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire; of Lord High Constable (and so commanding the Tower of London); of Chancellor of Oxford University; and lastly of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. Concerning the last, Gleig says :

“ No Court of Lode-manage was ever held during his periodical visits to Walmer without his presiding over its deliberations; and often . . . he would travel from London and even from Strathfieldsaye to Dover, on purpose to take part in them. For it was one of his maxims that whatever charge a man undertakes he is bound . . . to treat it as if it were important. And in his estimation few matters could be more important than to provide competent pilots for the navigation of the Channel and to maintain among them strict discipline.

“ He was the last of those functionaries permitted to exercise powers which took their rise when Sandwich was an important naval station and the defence of the coast from the North Foreland to Hastings depended mainly upon the inhabitants of the towns which lie between them. . . . The pilotage of the Channel was never so carefully attended to as just before the right of superintendence and selection passed from the Lord Warden for ever.

“ For nearly four centuries their organisation was

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controlled by the Court of Lode-manage of the Cinque Ports over which the Lord Warden presided. The last Court of Lode-manage was held on the 21st October 1851. Before the time for the next annual Court Day, the great Lord Warden was dead ; and within two years the Pilots of the ancient Cinque Ports had been reorganised under the Master and Brethren of Trinity House, Deptford.”¹

“The Duke’s Court of Lode-manage” (writes the author of *Dover: Reminiscences of an Ancient Freeman*) “used to be opened in St. James’s Church. The Duke and Pilots walked in procession—the Duke in a blue coat and red collar, the Pilots in blue coats, gilt buttons and primrose waistcoats ; and after the Court was formally opened behind the Communion Table, the Master of the Fellowship was elected by open vote. The procession reformed and walked to the old Antwerp Hotel on the Market Place for the despatch of business.”²

Whenever a general officer proposed to inspect the troops stationed at Dover and at Walmer, the Duke was notified, and, as a rule, attended the inspection in his uniform as Lord Warden. General Sir George Brown related to Gleig that once when the depots of two regiments had been formed into one small battalion at Walmer, the Duke, after putting them through several evolutions, “no doubt expecting to puzzle the major, desired him to place his battalion in line between the spire of a chapel to the north of the barrack yard and a wind-

¹ Gleig, p. 388.

² P. 22.

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mill standing out in the fields to the southward. . . . This can only be accomplished by two men or more mutually dressing each other on the points respectively. . . . Having allowed the major to boggle at it for some time, the Duke good-humouredly himself took the matter in hand, showing how it ought to be done ; and in the course of his ride afterwards set to work on the Downs drilling the party ” (of guests or friends) “ which was with him in the same exercise.”¹

Thomas Raikes, the diarist—a rich man about town who knew and venerated Wellington perhaps even more as a Tory statesman than as a great soldier—tells a very characteristic story. Naturally, when the Duke was at Walmer, the officers of whatever regiment chanced to be at Dover rode over to pay their respects and leave their cards. In the autumn of 1832 the 60th Foot were stationed there, and among the officers was Wellington’s son, Lord Douro. The usual visit was paid.

“ Shortly after came an invitation from His Grace to dinner, including all the officers, excepting Lord Douro. The Major who received the note, quite confused, knew not how to act and shewed it to Lord Douro, who was equally puzzled, though he knew it must have some meaning. To solve the difficulty he went forthwith to see the Duke at Walmer, who with great good humour told him : ‘ I make no distinctions in the Service ; those gentlemen who paid me the compliment of a visit

¹ Gleig, p. 399.

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I invited to dinner ; you were not of the number and so I omitted you in the invitation .”¹

In short, he was a martinet, having in him that element of the regimental sergeant-major which is always found in the best British regimental officers ; and he carried into the nineteenth century a formality which belonged rather to the eighteenth. Notably, he always spoke of his relatives by their titles ; his son, for instance, in his letters is always mentioned as Lord Douro. It was part of his determination to omit no detail of observance ; all must be correct as the buttons and straps on parade equipment. The framework of his mind was essentially a soldier’s ; and if he was a martinet, no one was used so unsparingly as himself ; there was no limit to the punctuality and thoroughness which he imposed on his own discharge of whatever could be expected of him in anything connected with his office or station.

This conception of duty is illustrated by his reply to the Bishop of Exeter, who wrote to urge upon him the importance of setting an example of regular churchgoing. The Duke answered, on January 6, 1832 :

“ Whenever and wherever my presence at church can operate as an example, I do go. I never am absent from divine service when I am at Walmer, or when I am in Hampshire or in any place in the country where my presence or absence would be observed.”

¹ Raikes, p. 87 (1858 edition), under date Jan. 27, 1833.

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But in London he did not go, because “ I never hear more than I know by heart of the Church service ”, and “ to sit for two hours every week uncovered in a cold church would deprive me of hearing altogether. . . . Excepting that duty, which I never fail to perform in the country, I don’t know of any that I leave unperformed.”¹

Sir Algernon West says :²

“ He used to go every Sunday to the Church at Old Walmer with a great Prayer-Book or Bible under his arm.”

This church is still used for occasional services ; but on the south wall of the nave the Duke’s hatchment hangs above the pew he occupied.³

Gleig—who, as a former Chaplain to the Forces, has a special interest in this subject—remarks that during the sermon the Duke used to go to sleep “ in his pew, when he sometimes snored audibly ”. But none the less, duty was done ; and he insisted always that his guests should do their share of it. Once Count Nugent, an Irish Roman Catholic General in the Austrian service, paid him a visit at Walmer.

“ Sunday morning came and the Count said, ‘ Duke, do you go to Church ? ’ ‘ Always, don’t you ? ’ ‘ I can’t go to Church with you, for you know I’m a Catholic.’ ‘ Oh, very well,’ was the answer, and the Duke turned to Captain Watts,

¹ Maxwell, ii. 278.

² *Recollections*, p. 31.

³ Since this was written the excrescence which contained the Duke of Wellington’s pew has been removed.

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who happened to be in the room. ‘Count Nugent wants to go to the Roman Catholic Chapel, do you know where it is?’ ‘Yes, sir,’ replied Watts. ‘Then be so good as to show him the way.’ Nugent tried to escape, but Captain Watts, an old Peninsular officer, had received his instructions, and to the Roman Catholic Chapel the Count was accordingly marched. The Duke was a good deal tickled and in walking to Church with his Protestant friends observed, ‘I knew he did not want me to go to Church, nor to go himself either, but I thought it best that we should both go’.”¹

His general habits at Walmer, where, especially, “he seemed to lay aside all the conventionalities of life, as it passes in the capital”, are thus described by Gleig :

“He was perfectly at his ease himself, and, leaving his guests to do as they preferred, he placed them at their ease also.

“He rose early, and read and wrote till ten o’clock. At ten, breakfast was served, after which he withdrew again to his own room, where he remained till about two in the afternoon. He then joined his friends, rode or drove out with them, or walked, as the case might be, making himself most agreeable to all who approached.

“A pack of hounds was kept in the neighbourhood, with which he frequently hunted, mounting any lady or gentleman who, not having brought

¹ Gleig, p. 582.

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horses with them, desired to see the sport. At seven he dined. The Duke ate but twice a day, at breakfast and dinner. Though not a large feeder he ate fast, and had an excellent appetite.

“ He was never given to much wine, and in later years found it advisable to cease from the use of it altogether.

“ But the hospitalities of his table were generous.

“ His conversation also, till deafness grew upon him, was lively and instructive, and at table he made it as general as possible. About nine, or occasionally later, he would say, ‘ Will anybody have any more wine ? ’ and then rise and propose to go to the drawing-room for coffee.

“ It was a peculiarity of his that he always led the way on these occasions, the ladies having, more Anglicano, retired somewhat earlier. In the drawing-room he sat usually in an armchair near the fireplace, and chatted with such of his guests as drew near him. There was a total absence of restraint, for everyone present felt that he was at liberty to do as he pleased. Cards were never introduced, but books and newspapers lay on all the tables, and the conversation rarely flagged. About eleven the ladies usually retired, and half an hour afterwards the Duke would light his candle and say, ‘ I am going to bed ; whoever leaves the room last will ring for the lights to be put out ’.

“ The Duke was an excellent sleeper, indeed he seemed to have the faculty of sleeping whenever he chose, and it was an unbroken slumber with him, when in health, from the time he laid his head on

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the pillow till he rose again. It is said of him, that when one of his lady friends expressed surprise that he should continue to make use of a bed on which there was no room to turn, his answer was, ‘When one begins to turn in bed it is time to turn out.’ . . .

“The Duke’s hospitality to his neighbours in Walmer, and to the officers of the regiments quartered there and at Dover, was great. Two or three times a week, during his autumnal residences in Kent, he had dinner parties, which all who were present at them enjoyed, because they seemed to be agreeable to their host. He was most particular, too, on such occasions, not to disappoint his guests, even if he should himself be put to inconvenience. It happened, on one occasion, that he invited, as he supposed, all the officers not on duty in Dover Castle to dine with him. Captain Watts, the captain of Walmer Castle, happened to discover that one young officer had been accidentally passed over, and knowing how keen the disappointment to the youth would be, he ventured to state the circumstance to the Duke. ‘How many are there to dinner?’ was the Duke’s reply; and when informed that the table would hold an additional guest, he said, ‘By all means, write and invite him too’.”¹

Apart from this local circle of neighbours and acquaintances, passing or permanent, was the circle of his intimates. First among these should be counted Arbuthnot, who after a mixed career of

¹ Gleig, pp. 578, 590 (1862 edition).

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Parliamentary life and diplomacy became Commissioner of Woods and Forests. In 1814 he married (being then a widower and close on fifty) a handsome and clever young woman, Miss Harriet Fane.¹ Between her and the Duke of Wellington an intimacy grew up, which is generally believed to have begun as one of the Duke's numerous liaisons ; but it developed into a close and lasting companionship. About this, two facts stand out : first, that the Duke wore about his neck a locket with Mrs. Arbuthnot's picture, fastened by a chain made from her hair ; it was on his neck when he died ; and secondly, that when she died in August 1834, Arbuthnot gave up his own home, Woodford, in Northamptonshire, and lived entirely with the Duke.

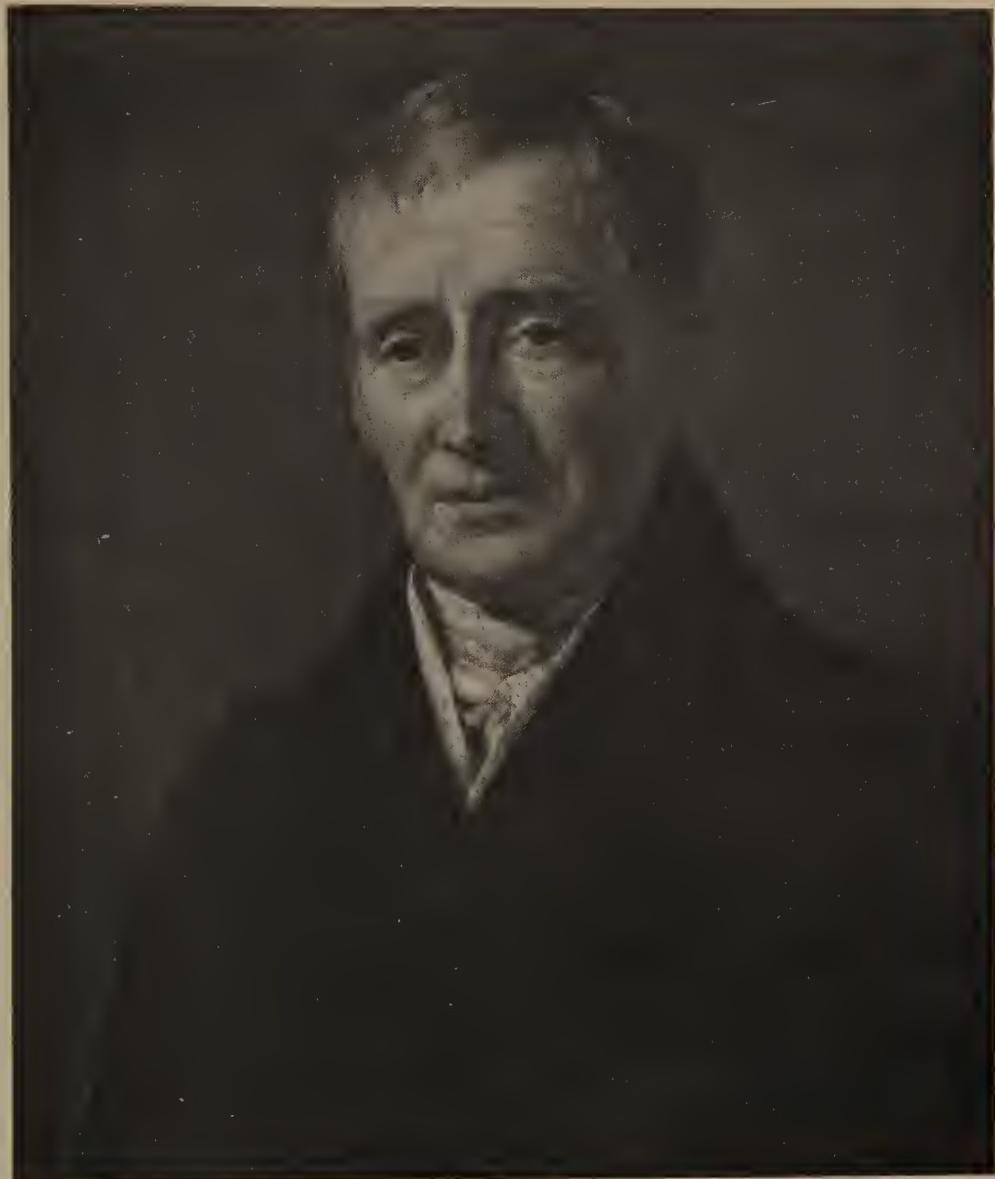
Arbuthnot is described as "a little old rosy-faced man ", called "Gosh" by all his friends, and "he and the Duke were like brothers".

Only two years divided them in age, but Arbuthnot was not only the older but the less strong, and the Duke knew it.

"Hence, after they had walked together for a while on the beach beneath the Castle, the Duke would stop short and say, 'Now, Arbuthnot, you've been out long enough. The dew is falling and you'll catch cold ; you must go in.' And like a child obeying its mother or its nurse Arbuthnot not always without remonstrance would leave the Duke to continue his walk alone."²

¹ Daughter of the Hon. H. Fane, second son of the eighth Earl of Westmorland.

² Gleig, p. 577.



THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES ARBUTHNOT

From a portrait painted in the eighty-third year of his age by S. Gambardella

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Of his own kindred, his niece Lady Burghersh, with her husband and children, stayed at Walmer every summer from 1831 to 1841; and in 1838, on Lord Carrington's death, the Duke appointed his brother, Lord Maryborough (father to Lady Burghersh), to the Captaincy of Deal Castle. The letters to Lady Burghersh do not tell us much; for all his writing, the Duke was no letter-writer; but in 1834 he is saying that her boys must go home by the first week in September, "as I am likely to have a good many people—notwithstanding that this house stretches handsomely at times".¹ The next year it is the same story :

"The whole world chooses to visit me, and at Walmer Castle, and as the accommodation in the house is not infinite, I must manage it. I enclose a note for Mrs. Norman,² directing her to receive you and take care of you, and to lodge you in Mr. Pitt's room. . . . People are so anxious to go to Walmer Castle that I shall scarcely have time to send back my servants before they will arrive."

Between the autumns of 1834 and 1835 had passed the episode of his brief return to office. On the defeat of Lord Grey's Ministry, William IV. sent for the Duke, who declined, on the score of age, to form an administration, and advised sending for Sir Robert Peel, who was in Rome. Until he could return, and choose his own colleagues, the Duke bridged over matters by assuming all the offices

¹ *Correspondence of Lady Burghersh with the Duke of Wellington*, p. 54.

² Then the Duke's housekeeper. She was succeeded later by Mrs. Allen.

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himself, and discharging their duties punctually—becoming Foreign Secretary when Peel had the reins in hand.—They were all out again by April 1835, and the Duke returned to his leisure and his friendships.

From the beginning of his occupation of Walmer, Lord¹ and Lady Salisbury had been constant guests with their children; and he maintained a constant correspondence with Lady Salisbury, the only woman of whom it can be said that she had his confidence and friendship and nothing more. A letter from her records the passion of grief which he displayed on receiving at Hatfield the unexpected news of Mrs. Arbuthnot's death in 1834; and this bereavement naturally enhanced to him the value of the remaining woman-companionship. But she also died, early in life, in October 1839; and the Duke put on mourning for her.

Over and above his intimates, the Duke constantly received notable guests. On October 2, 1833, the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and Prince George² dined and slept at Walmer on their way to Dover. Lord Mahon wrote to Lady Jersey:

“Yesterday I dined at Walmer Castle. The Duke is in amazing force. We were to meet the Royal Highnesses of Cumberland, and sat waiting for them from seven till a quarter to nine. . . . Some county neighbours, being little used to late hours, appeared half dead at the delay.”³

¹ The second Marquis.

² Duke of Cambridge and Commander-in-Chief.

³ Quoted by Sir H. Maxwell, ii. 278.

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In 1835 the Duchess of Kent was staying with the Princess Victoria at Ramsgate, and King Leopold of Belgium and his Queen came over to visit them. On October 5 the whole party came to be the Duke's guests. Lady Burghersh, who helped him to do the honours, wrote to her husband :

" Everything went off very well indeed to-day. The day was beautiful. . . . The King and Queen of the Belgians arrived exactly at two o'clock in the same carriage with the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria. The Duke and I went to meet them on the drawbridge and brought them to the outside of the staircase to the ramparts (where nearly all the company were assembled), the tower battery firing a salute. . . . After walking about the ramparts and speaking to the company the King and Queen went with the Duke round the garden, but as Princess Victoria had a cold I stayed in the drawing-room with her and the Duchess of Kent. . . . The Princess afterwards came out on the ramparts and was very much cheered. Luncheon was very handsome and laid for 40 people in the two rooms.

" When they went away the Duke and I went down to the entrance again and put them in the carriage and the mob cheered very much, and as they drove off they gave one cheer more for the Duke."¹

Lord Ellesmere notes of that same autumn :

¹ *Correspondence of Lady Westmorland*, edited by Lady Rose Weigall, p. 43.

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“*November 1835.*—Passed the four first days of November at Walmer. The Duke recovered from recent illness. Company—Mahon, Salisbury, Lady Burghersh, Lord Rosslyn, Arbuthnot, and Lady Stanhope and Rogers¹ from Deal, Mr. Jones, junior, the optician from Cockspur Street. He was employed to put to rights a good-sized astronomical reflecting telescope, still at Walmer, and stayed a week, amusing the Duke and Arbuthnot a good deal with his scientific talk. There had been question at first where he was to dine. The Duke had ruled it in favour of his own table, and was much pleased with him.”²

That was characteristic of the Duke’s hospitality, which, however, was often severely tried. In October 1836 there were at Walmer a painter (Lilley), a sculptor (Campbell Hall), and a draughtsman to the sculptor, all busy with portraits of their host. “They all paint in the dining-room”, he noted to Lady Salisbury;³ and on November 6, “Thank God I have done with the artists”. Lilley, however, after eighteen sittings at Walmer, went on to Strathfieldsaye and exacted nine more. “This is really too much”, the Duke wrote to Lady Burghersh.

There were, however, relaxations. Miss Mary Ann Jervis, who in the Duke’s letters is called The Siren, arrived at Walmer with her father, Lord St. Vincent, and having a fine voice, “sang from

¹ The poet.

² P. 193.

³ The Duke’s letters to the first Lady Salisbury were shown to Lord Curzon. These extracts are from quotations transcribed by him.

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morning to night and from night to morning". The Duke liked music, he liked pretty women ; and it amused him to report to Lady Salisbury on October 26, 1836, that he was "supposed to be going to marry her". Next year the Siren was at Walmer again, and again singing hard. There was no doubt that she meant marriage. But in 1840 she was fortunately disposed of to an Indian nabob, Mr. Dyce Sombre.

The possibility of inducing so susceptible a person to remarry was evidently much canvassed. George Smythe¹ wrote to Lord John Manners from Eastwell (Lord Winchilsea's house) on October 5, 1838 :

"The Verulams had just arrived with all the Grims, at Dover, before I left Walmer, and Britannia swears, I hear, that she will marry Lady Katharine Barham to the Duke of Wellington ! Lord Salisbury told me that she (Lady K.) has £1500 a year and £50,000 ready money, so if her mamma's scheme fails, you ought to succeed his Grace."

An earlier letter (September 28, 1838) written by Smythe to Lord John Manners from Walmer gives a vivid impression.

"I see much of the great Duke—what with his rheumatism brought on by continually having to turn round his hearing ear, he is scarcely so well as this time last year, but so full of fun and anecdote. His description of the Queen of the Belgians on

¹ The "Young England" leader, afterwards seventh Viscount Strangford. This letter was supplied to Lord Curzon by Mr. Charles Whibley.

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horseback¹ (she had not rode since last year, also at Windsor) the finest thing I ever heard. Also, very interesting the account of her Court. One thing surprised me. He said the *wickedest* thing Lord Melbourne had ever done was putting Lady Normanby about the Queen, and when somebody expressed surprise, he said : ‘ All I can say is what her father told me, “ When Lord Mulgrave married my daughter, he married an Angel. He has since made her a devil.” ’

“ I was much bullied the other day to see the Duke (on the anniversary of Assaye too),² listening with might and main to a cursed post-captain who talked the whole time after dinner, about some ship *He forsooth* had captured. Staying with him now are the De Ros’s and Brownlows and Mr. Arbuthnot.”

Even more interesting is this casual reference in a letter from Smythe to the same correspondent on September 11, 1839 :

“ What a great man Newman is—so simple, more so than any man whom I ever met except the Duke of Wellington.”

In 1838 the death of Lord Carrington gave the Lord Warden right to appoint a new Captain of Deal Castle. The Duke wrote at once to Captain Watts ordering him to “ go to Deal Castle and take possession thereof in the name of the Lord Warden

¹ The King and Queen of the Belgians had been again staying at Ramsgate.

² September 23, 1803.

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of the Cinque Ports . . . to keep the gates shut and to give admission to no one who is not the bearer of an order from me or from the successor to Lord Carrington's Title and properties ". On October 9, 1838, he announces to Captain Watts the appointment of William, Lord Maryborough. This was William Wellesley Pole, the Duke's elder brother, second son of Garrett Wellesley, first Earl of Mornington. In 1842, on the death of the eldest of the brothers, Lord Wellesley, Lord Maryborough became third Earl of Mornington.

Important obligatory hospitalities continued, and on September 9, 1837, the Duke wrote to Lady Salisbury :

" I have to wait and receive Princess Augusta of Saxony. It is my fate to be all things to all men, women and children."

On October 3, 1839, there was a more serious invasion ; the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge came with Princess Augusta and stayed till the 8th. " It is a charming thing to be Boniface," said the Duke to Lord Mahon when they met out with the harriers on October 2. " To find room for them in that small castle . . . and the gentlemen's gentlemen and the ladies' ladies ! It is as bad as quartering an army."

Things were done in style. On October 4 Lord Mahon walked on the Castle ramparts with the Duke and dined there afterwards, in a party of eighteen. In the evening was a concert, " the Duke having engaged several vocalists from London

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and invited most of the neighbours. All went off extremely well and was over by half-past eleven."

On the 6th another dinner and concert. The Duke's talk turned on the times when he was mobbed in the London streets and also at Cambridge. The final function was a great public breakfast in honour of their Royal Highnesses, attended by over a hundred people—many from Ramsgate and Dover.

Worse than royalties were the artists. At the end of October 1838 they were busy : and in 1839 he wrote to Lady de Ros on October 18 :

" I expected a descent of artists. I have had one. Some still remain and more are coming—two from Scotland." ¹

However, we owe to this descent a picture in words much better than any of them accomplished on canvas.

In December 1838 a body of gentlemen at Liverpool gave Benjamin Haydon a commission for a picture of the Duke musing at Waterloo twenty years after the battle. By the end of January the design was rubbed in ; and on May 11 the Duke consented to sit.

" I will with great pleasure see Mr. Haydon and will endeavour to fix a time at which it will be in my power to give him sittings to enable him to finish the picture. It is not in my power at the present moment."

¹ *Life of Lady de Ros*, by Mrs. Swinton, p. 157.

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"I wrote", says Haydon, "asking the Duke for an hour and a half." This was the answer.

"LONDON, 17th May, 1839.

"The Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Haydon and has received his letter.

"Mr. Haydon shall have the Duke's attendance as soon as he is able to give it.

"He might as well ask him to sit for ten days at present as for a sitting of an hour and a half."

But the picture went on, Haydon working hard to reproduce a likeness of the horse Copenhagen (which carried the Duke for seventeen hours on the day of Waterloo). Then he wrote asking for the loan of the Duke's accoutrements and was refused. Lord Fitzroy Somerset was appealed to, and said they were all moth-eaten, but referred him to Whippley, the saddler, who made all the Duke's saddles from Salamanca to Waterloo. He "like a fine fellow said he would fit up everything as the Duke wore it at Waterloo, put it on a horse and let me paint from the real thing". Also, the painter used the delay to visit Flanders and make studies of the battlefield.

Further correspondence produced a note in which the Duke "hopes that he will have some cessation of note-writing about pictures", and declines to lend anybody his clothes, arms and equipment. Wilkie, from previous experience, explained that he preferred coming in his uniform, but asked: "Has he promised your committee? . . . Then he will keep his word." He did, at

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last. In October Haydon was asked to Walmer, and after dressing was shown into the drawing-room, "where sat his Grace with Sir Astley Cooper, Mr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Booth, who had served with his Grace in Spain. His Grace welcomed me heartily, asked how I came down, and fell again into general conversation.

"I studied his fine head intensely. Arbuthnot had begun to doze. I was like a lamp newly trimmed, and could have listened all night. The Duke gave a tremendous yawn, and said, 'It is time to go to bed'. Candles were rung for. He took two, and lighted them himself. The rest lighted their own. The Duke took one and gave me (being the stranger) the other, and led the way. At an old view of Dover, in the hall, he stopped and explained about the encroachments of the sea. I studied him again—we all held up our candles. Sir Astley went to Mr. Pitt's bedroom, and said, 'God bless your Grace'. They dropped off—his Grace, I and the valet going on. I came to my room, and said, 'God bless your Grace'. I saw him go into his. When I got to bed I could not sleep. Good God, I thought, here am I *tête à tête* with the greatest man on earth, and the noblest—the conqueror of Napoleon—sitting with him, talking to him, sleeping near him! His mind is unimpaired; his conversation powerful, humorous, witty, argumentative, sound, moral. Would he throw his stories, fresh from nature, into his speeches, the effect would be prodigious. He would double their impression. I am deeply interested, and

THE DRAWING-ROOM, WALMER CASTLE



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passionately affected. God bless his Grace, I repeat.

" 12th.—At ten we breakfasted—the Duke, Sir Astley, Mr. Booth and myself. He put me on his right. ' Which will ye have, black tea or green ? ' ' Black, your Grace.' ' Bring black.' Black was brought, and I ate a hearty breakfast. In the midst six dear healthy, noisy children were brought to the windows. ' Let them in,' said the Duke, and in they came, and rushed over to him, saying, ' How d'ye do, Duke ? How d'ye do, Duke ? ' One boy, young Gray, roared, ' I want some tea, Duke '. ' You shall have it, if you promise not to slop it over me, as you did yesterday.' Toast and tea were then in demand. Three got on one side and three on the other, and he hugged 'em all. Tea was poured out, and I saw little Gray try to slop it over the Duke's frock coat. Sir Astley said, ' You did not expect to see this '. They all then rushed out on the leads, by the cannon, and after breakfast I saw the Duke romping with the whole of them, and one of them gave his Grace a devil of a thump. I went round to my bedroom. The children came to the window, and a dear little black-eyed girl began romping. I put my head out and said, ' I'll catch you '. Just as I did this, the Duke, who did not see me, put his head out at the door close to my room, No. 10, which leads to the leads, and said, ' I'll catch ye !—ha, ha, I've got ye ! ' at which they all ran away. He looked at them and laughed and went in.

" He then told me to choose my room and get

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my light in order, and after hunting he would sit. I did so, and about two he gave me an hour and a half. I hit his grand, upright, manly expression. He looked like an eagle of the gods who had put on human shape, and had got silvery with age and service. At first I was a little affected, but I hit his features, and all went off. Riding hard made him rosy and dozy. His colour was fresh. All the portraits are too pale. I found that to imagine he could not go through any duty raised the lion. ‘Does the light hurt your Grace’s eyes?’ ‘Not at all’; and he stared at the light as much as to say, ‘I’ll see if you shall make me give in, Signor Light’.

“ ’Twas a noble head. I saw nothing of that peculiar expression of mouth the sculptors give him, bordering on simpering. His colour was beautiful and fleshy, his lips compressed and energetic. I foolishly said, ‘Don’t let me fatigue your Grace’. ‘Well, sir,’ he said, ‘I’ll give you an hour and a half. To-morrow is Sunday. Monday I’ll sit again.’ I was delighted to see him pay his duty to Sunday. Up he rose. I opened the door, and hold this as the highest distinction of my life. He bowed and said, ‘We dine at seven’.

“ At seven we dined. His Grace took half a glass of sherry and put it in water. I drank three glasses, Mr. Arbuthnot one. We then went to the drawing-room, where, putting a candle on each side of him, he read the *Standard* whilst I talked to Mr. Arbuthnot, who said it was not true Copenhagen ran away on the field. He ran to his stable when

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the Duke came to Waterloo after the battle, and kicked and gambolled.

“ I did not stay up to-night. I was tired, went to bed and slept heartily. It was most interesting to see him reading away. I believe he read every iota. We talked of Lord Mulgrave, whom his Grace esteemed. Sir Astley had left in the morning, and, in talking of the Duke’s power of conversation, related that when someone said, ‘ Habit is second nature’, the Duke remarked, ‘ It is ten times nature’.

“ I asked the Duke if Cæsar did not land hereabouts. He said he believed near Richborough Castle.

“ Thus ends the second immortal day.

“ *Sunday.*—I found the Duke on the leads. After breakfast Mr. Arbuthnot told me to go to the village church and ask for the Duke’s pew. I walked, and was shown into a large pew near the pulpit.

“ A few moments after the service had begun the Duke and Mr. Arbuthnot came up—no pomp, no servants in livery with a pile of books. The Duke came into the presence of his Maker without cant, without affectation, a simple human being.

“ From the bare wainscot, the absence of curtains, the dirty green footstools, and common chairs, I feared I was in the wrong pew, and very quietly sat myself down in the Duke’s place. Mr. Arbuthnot squeezed my arm before it was too late, and I crossed in an instant. The Duke pulled out his prayer-book, and followed the clergyman in the simplest way.

“ The Duke after dinner retired, and we all

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followed him. He then took the *Spectator*, and placing a candle on each side of his venerable head read it through. I watched him the whole time. Young Lucas¹ had arrived, a very nice fellow, and we both watched him. I took Lardner's life of him, in one part of which he says, 'He rode in front of fifty pieces of artillery but God protected his head'. I looked up and studied the venerable white head that God still protected. There he was, contented, happy, aged, but vigorous, enjoying his leisure in dignity; God knows, as he deserves. After reading till his eyes were tired he put down the paper, and said, 'There are a great many curious things in it, I assure you'. He then yawned, as he always did before retiring, and said, 'I'll give you an early sitting to-morrow, at nine'. I wished his Grace good night, and went to bed. At half-past five I was up, set my palette, got all ready and went to work to get the head in from the drawing. By nine the door opened, and in he walked, looking extremely worn—his skin drawn tight over his face, his eye was watery and aged, his head nodded a little. I put the chair; he mumbled, 'I'd as soon stand'. I thought, 'You will get tired', but I said nothing; down he sat,—how altered from the fresh old man after Saturday's hunting! It affected me. He looked like an aged eagle beginning to totter from his perch. He took out his watch three times, and at ten up he got, and said, 'It's ten'; I opened the door, and he went out. He had been impatient all the time. At breakfast he brightened

¹ Also an artist.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON MUSING ON THE FIELD OF WATERLOO

From the engraving by T. G. Lupton of the picture by Benjamin Robert Haydon

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at the sight of the children, and after distributing toast and tea to them I got him on Art. He talked of a picture of Copenhagen by Ward, which the Duke of Northumberland bought, and which he wanted, and suddenly looking up at me, said, ‘D’ye want another sitting?’ I replied, ‘If you please, your Grace’. ‘Very well; after hunting, I’ll come.’ Just as he was going hunting, or whilst he was out, came Count Brunow, the *locum tenens* of Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian Ambassador. Lady Burghersh came in and Mr. Arbuthnot wanted her to go and talk to Brunow, but she declined. All of a sudden I heard a great clatter, and the servants came in to move the great table for lunch. At lunch I was called in. The Duke, Count Brunow and myself lunched. At three he came in to sit, having sent Brunow with Arbuthnot *pour faire un tour*. Lady Burghersh came in also, and again he was fresher, but the feebleness of the morning still affected my heart. It is evident, at times, he is beginning to sink, though the sea air at Walmer keeps him up, and he is better than he was.

“Lady Burghersh kept him talking but the expression I had already hit was much finer than the present, and I resolved not to endanger what I had secured. I therefore corrected the figure and shoulders, and told Lady Burghersh I had done. ‘He has done,’ said she, ‘and it’s very fine.’ ‘Is it though?’ said the Duke; ‘I’m very glad.’ ‘And now,’ said she, ‘you must stand.’ So up he got, and I sketched two views of his back, his hands, legs, etc., etc. I did him so instantaneously that his

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

eagle eyes looked me right through several times, when he thought I was not looking. As it was a point of honour with him not to see any sketch connected with my picture, he never glanced that way.”

“At night, as I took leave of the Duke, he said, ‘I hope you are satisfied. Good-bye.’ I heard him go to bed after me, laughing, and he roared out to Arbuthnot, ‘Good night’. I then heard him slam the door of his room, No. 11, next to mine, No. 10, but on the opposite side, and a little further on.¹ I soon fell asleep; was off at six for Ramsgate, and dined at home at five.”²

1839, in which this description was written, marks a turning-point for the Duke. In May he was for a moment about to return to office when Lord Melbourne resigned. The Queen sent for him and he declined on account of his age to form a Cabinet, but was willing to serve under Sir Robert Peel as Foreign Secretary. This project, however, broke down because Peel proposed to remove the Ladies of the Bedchamber, which the Queen refused to allow; and Melbourne resumed office. In the debate which followed, Lord Brougham delivered a violent tirade against the Whigs. After him the Duke got up, and in a short speech promised support to Lord Melbourne so long as his policy followed the lines that had been announced.

¹ These numbers have been altered by the Office of Works and no longer represent the rooms thus numbered in 1839.

² *Memoirs of B. R. Haydon*, vol. iii. p. 120 sqq. (1853 ed.).

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It was a characteristic episode. That autumn a dinner was given to the Duke as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (August 30, 1839). Greville describes it:

“The Dover dinner to the Duke of Wellington which took place the other day did not present an agreeable spectacle. Brougham who had thrust himself in among the party was pitched upon, as having the best gift of the gab, to propose the Duke’s health which he did in a very tawdry speech stuffed with claptraps and commonplaces. It was a piece of bad taste to select Brougham (who had nothing to do with Dover) for the performance of this office, which would have been more appropriately discharged by the local authority in the chair, although he might not have been able to make such a flourish as the practised orator favoured the company with. The Duke himself hates to be praised and it is painful to see Brougham and him in any way connected, though for so ephemeral a purpose. The Duke’s health might be proposed in three lines of Ovid which express the position he fills more, and probably better, than the most studied orator could do :

Si titulos annosque tuos numerare velimus,
Facta premant annos. Pro te, fortissime, vota
Publica suscipimus, Bacchi tibi sumimus haustus.

“It turned out a complete Tory celebration. There was an almost unmixed array of Tory names at the banquet, and one Whig lord (Poltimore) who happened to be at Dover declined attending.”¹

¹ Greville, *Memoirs*, iv. 245.

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Over 2000 guests were present, including 600 Kentish ladies. Brougham's speech compared the Duke to Marlborough, Cæsar, Hannibal and Napoleon; and, in conclusion, thus addressed the audience :

“ You of the Cinque Ports stand at the advanced post of danger. If it should ever approach, through your lines and over your bodies, the enemy that shall have dared to defile our shores must pass, should he pursue his course towards the heart of the realm. . . . Then would be seen—what God forbid I should ever have to witness the occasion for—Wellington coming forth and adorning one bright superfluous page to the history of his imperishable renown.”

To this rhetoric the Duke replied :

“ It is true that the office which I have the honour to fill is neither so efficient as it was in former times, and under other circumstances—nor do its duties necessarily bring the person who fills the office so frequently into relation with all parts of the county and all the towns committed to his jurisdiction as in former times. But I am, and I always have been, frequently in communication with all points of this district, upon their local interests and relations, and I am ready in all times to attend to everything upon which it may be thought that I can render any service or can in any manner be useful to them. I trust everyone who hears me is convinced of that fact, and that no one would scruple at any time, if he thought I

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could render any assistance to any of the Cinque Ports, to call upon me. . . . Holding as I do my office under the Crown I consider it my duty to do everything in my power for the service of the public and of each individual part of the jurisdiction which has been placed under my charge.”

He had many years yet of service to render, but with failing powers ; and soon after this the first signs of decay were manifested in a constitution which had seemed unbreakable. In October 1837 he told Stanhope :

“ Till that man destroyed my ear, I was never confined to bed for a day in my whole life since I had the measles as a child. I was never unable any one day to do whatever duty there happened to be before me. . . . Through life I have avoided medicine as much as I could, but always eaten and drunk very little.”¹

He suffered a good deal from rheumatism, however, and it had given his neck the fixed stoop which marred his figure. In November 1838, writing to Lady Salisbury about the fall which Stanhope considered “ alarming ”, he says, “ I go out with hounds but cannot ride with them yet, owing to rheumatism ”.

On October 15, 1839, he learnt the death of the dear friend to whom he wrote this. In

¹ *Conversations*, p. 102. The allusion is to the injection of a strong solution of caustic into his ear, as a cure for deafness, in 1826. The hearing was restored for a while but inflammation set in and left the ear stone deaf. See Maxwell, vol. ii. p. 181.

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the following November he had stayed longer than usual at Walmer, and on the 19th, a cold rainy day, went out to ride in the morning with Lord Mahon, having a fur collar round his throat and an umbrella in his hand. They rode quietly, the Duke explaining to a Mr. Lulham from Dover his project for making silver as well as gold legal tender. He came in from his ride, wrote two or three notes, read the papers and retired to his bedroom, where he always worked. After a while he rang and asked that the local doctor should be sent for—as was done. But shortly the bell rang again, and his man found him with his lower jaw dropped and moving, so that notwithstanding his efforts to speak he could not explain what he wanted. But he motioned the man out of the room, who dare not disobey, but staying outside the door, heard a heavy fall, and entering found his master prostrate. The Duke, speechless, was lifted on to his bed, and Lord Mahon was sent for, who despatched an express to London for Dr. Hume.

Four years later Captain Watts showed Lord Dalhousie, then come to be sworn in as Captain of Deal Castle, the little old camp bedstead with its cross brass legs and canvas bottom. “When I once saw him laid out there”, said Captain Watts, “I never thought to see him stir again.”

“He then told me”, says Lord Dalhousie, “that he alluded to the first attack which the Duke had in November 1839. He was to have had a large dinner-party of the officers of the garrison that day. When he was attacked he lay for a long

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time insensible on the little bed. ‘Dr. McArthur was standing by the fire,’ he said pointing as he spoke, ‘and Lord Mahon and I were standing at the foot of the bed, looking at the Duke as he lay speechless and unconscious.’ One of them said it would be better to send a message and stop the people coming—‘Gad I don’t know, better wait a little, he may get better.’ After some further delay the same observation was made, and Captain Watts was about to give the same advice as before when he thought he saw the Duke move. Presently the Duke moved again, and then turning his head and opening his eyes as if he were just awaking out of sleep, he said, ‘I desire that the dinner fixed for to-day may go on; and I beg that Colonel Thompson, Colonel Morris and Captain Watts will be so good as to receive the officers’. Lord Mahon then said, ‘Captain Watts is in the room, Sir, here’. ‘Ah,’ said the Duke, ‘How do, Captain Watts. I beg that you, Colonel Morris and Colonel Thompson will be so good as to receive my friends to-day.’ So calm and self-possessed was he. ‘I’ve had a little rheumatism in this left arm,’ he said afterwards! rubbing the side which was affected by the attack which he had suffered and which had been brought on by exhaustion arising from a long fast.”¹

He had eaten nothing that day but a little dry bread at breakfast and a fragment of an Abernethy

¹ Extract made by Lord Curzon from the Diary of Lord Dalhousie placed at his disposal by Sir W. Lee-Warner, the biographer of Lord Dalhousie.—ED.

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biscuit when he came in from riding. At all times he ate abstemiously, but when he felt indisposed his remedy was always fasting.

The seizure took place on Monday. By Wednesday he was reading letters and answering them in his own hand ; and on Friday he got into his britzka to drive to London—a drive of eight hours—where he was to attend the Council at which the Queen would announce her impending marriage.

Stanhope notes that before leaving he had, with his usual punctilio, regulated the household affairs and settled up all bills—leaving also with Captain Watts a sum for his usual winter donations and subscriptions to charities. Also, in taking leave of Sir Astley Cooper, he drew himself up and said, “ You will tell them at Dover that you have seen me and walking and well—instead of lying speechless at your feet ”. He had seemingly resented an article in *The Times* which represented him as being speechless for twelve hours.

But in spite of his iron will the convulsions were renewed in February 1840, again in the following July and in February 1841. His spirits were affected. “ I cannot but consider this residence and Walmer Castle a bore ”, he wrote to Lady Burghersh on December 9, 1840, from Strathfieldsaye. “ There is no society for visitors excepting that of a veteran and a few vulgar neighbours and people are much happier at home.”¹

For himself he had at Walmer his own duties ; and Stanhope mentions that on November 6 the

¹ *Correspondence with Duke of Wellington*, p. 133.

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Duke was at Dover nearly the whole day for the Annual Harbour Sessions.

“ From 1829 the Duke of Wellington, as Lord Warden, had been the Chairman of the Harbour Commissioners, but until after the death of Sir Henry Oxenden in 1838, he usually deferred to Sir Henry’s opinion in regard to new works and repairs, but after that, the Duke definitely took the lead.”¹

In 1842 the enlargement of the harbour (including the removal of five acres of land then covered with buildings) was decided on, under his chairmanship. The entire work went on after the Board of Warden and Assistants was dissolved ; but “ up to 1861 all the important work done at the harbour was but the winding up of the projects which had been undertaken while the Duke was at the head of affairs ”.

The work had progressed so far by 1846 that the Duke attended to preside at the ceremony of opening an iron bridge over part of the space excavated, which then received its name of Wellington Bridge.

In 1841 the Duke returned to office, joining Sir Robert Peel’s new administration in September as member of the Cabinet without office. His stay at Walmer this year was much shorter than usual, yet seemed to him too long. Strathfieldsaye was being renovated, and the Duke at Walmer complained of bad weather on November 18.

“ I wish that I was at home in my warm comfortable house in Hants. But in these good times no

¹ J. Bavington Jones, *Annals of Dover*, p. 181.

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workmen will finish any work. I cannot get them out of my house. I will not go into it while they are there."

Earlier in that month he had to go up to London to be present at the birth of the Prince of Wales.

In 1842 he was at the Castle in September, having for guests Lord Salisbury and Lady Blanche Cecil, Lord and Lady de Ros, Lady Douro, Mr. Arbuthnot and Sir Andrew Barnard. He seemed to Stanhope "in high health and spirits", and on September 22 went off to Windsor by Royal command to meet the Archduke.

On September 26 he was back, bringing from London the news of his eldest brother Lord Wellesley's death. "He seemed much depressed throughout the evening and said little." On October 9 he went up with his son Lord Douro to attend the funeral at Eton, and next day returned after it—arriving at half-past ten.

"I have been painfully struck", Stanhope writes, "at remarking how much the Duke's sources of enjoyment and relaxation are yearly declining. When I first knew him, who so fond of hunting and shooting? The latter he has for more than eight years, the former more than two relinquished. Riding he still uses as a means of health, but seems much less to delight in. Country visits were once very agreeable to him; from them he now wholly abstains. But what strikes me most of late is the loss of his taste for music. Formerly whenever Lady Mahon or any other lady accomplished in music

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dined with him, he was always eager for some songs ; now he often omits to ask for or if he does ask for seems more apathetic in hearing them. . . . Thus one by one all his pleasures have dropped away like leaves from a tree in winter. One only remains—public or private business—which he transacts with undiminished alacrity.”

On October 30 one of the public matters which he went to discuss at the Cabinet was the Queen’s signified intention of going to Walmer Castle. The suggestion had come from Sir Robert Peel.

The Duke wrote from Walmer on October 26 :

“**MY DEAR PEEL—**

“ Arbuthnot has shown me your letter to him respecting this house.

“ Nothing can be more convenient to me than to place it at Her Majesty’s disposition any time she pleases.

“ I am only apprehensive that the accommodation of the Castle would be scarcely sufficient for Her Majesty, the Prince and the Royal children and such suite as must attend.

“ It is the most delightful seaside residence to be found anywhere, particularly for children. They can be out all day on the ramparts and platforms quite dry, and the beautiful gardens and wood are enclosed and sheltered from the severe gales of wind. There are good lodgings at Walmer village and on Walmer beach at no great distance from the Castle, not above half a mile.”

On November 4, Mr. Hardwick, “an architect of

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very agreeable manners and conversation",¹ came down to make arrangements for the approaching visit, and the Duke departed next day, leaving the place at his mercy.

According to Timbs (p. 107) "the only preparation at Walmer Castle was to put out a plate-glass window,² to enable Her Majesty to have a better view of the sea. A stand for a timepiece was required for Prince Albert, and the Duke sent for a village carpenter who made it of common deal and it is now a fixture in the bedroom. Her Majesty is stated to have been much delighted at this simplicity of the Duke."

On November 9 he wrote to Captain Watts, directing that for the Queen's arrival the Royal Standard should be hoisted and a Guard of Honour provided.

On November 10 the Royal party left Windsor, reached Paddington by train, and then by train again to Dover. With the Queen and Prince Albert were the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal, Lord Sydney, Lord C. Wellesley, the Hon. C. Murray and Lady Lyttelton, who has left an account. The journey of 103 miles was made in nine hours, including two stops of quarter of an hour. "It was very fatiguing owing to immense crowds, continual cheers and excitement of wreaths and bonfires and triumphal arches, church bells and cannons all the way."³

The Duke met them at the boundary of his juris-

¹ Stanhope, *Conversations*, p. 291.

² No such window now exists.

³ *Correspondence of Sarah Lady Lyttelton*, edited by the Hon. Mrs. Hugh Wyndham, p. 33.

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diction, in Upper Deal, and then galloped ahead to receive the Queen at the Castle. She arrived at 4 P.M. The Royal Salute was fired by the Guard of Honour and the troops, and repeated by eight guns on the upper and six on the lower rampart.

The original intention was to stay till November 22, but they remained nearly a month, visiting places in the neighbourhood. The Queen and Prince Consort used to walk unattended on the beach in the morning. She drove on excursions in a carriage and four with outriders, the Prince Consort accompanying on horseback. When the Queen went on foot to Kingsdown village or to Dover, she made her way out of the Castle gardens by a small wicket, so as to escape the gazers. Once as she and the Prince were on the shore a sudden shower drove them into the boat-house. The old couple, Mr. Erridge and his wife, who lived there, could offer them nothing to sit on but some empty water-casks, head down, "which", according to Pritchard's *History of Deal*, "the Royal Party demurred not at all at using; and Erridge and his wife entered into free discussion. The unadorned style and manner of Erridge when speaking resembled more the language of the Esquimaux than English. However, it evidently arrested the esteem of Her Majesty for she settled a provision on them both for their lives."¹

"A great entertainment was provided for the Royal guests by the boatmen of the coast, who assembled a fleet of first-class luggers, numbering

¹ Pritchard, p. 332.

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nearly fifty, launched simultaneously, and after making a good offing in the Downs stood under press of canvas for Walmer Castle and the South Foreland. So unprecedented an assembly of boats drew the people of three parishes down to the beach, while the Queen and Prince Consort with their party looked on from the rampart.”¹

The party being large, several of the household had to turn out nightly and regain their lodgings in Walmer Village.² Even for the actual inmates it was not an abode of luxury. Lady Lyttelton wrote the day after her arrival :

“ This is much what I expected. A big round tower with odd additions stuck on. Immense thick walls and a heap of conical rooms of the odd shapes necessary as parts of a round house; built close upon the shingly beach. . . . It seems needless to go out for air, doors and windows chatter and sing at once, and hardly keep out the storms of wind and rain which is howling round.

“ The Prince and Queen are reading Hallam’s *Constitutional History*, and for a light book St. Simon’s *Memoirs*. . . . Very pleasant to find him reading aloud to her while she was at cross-stitch as I did the other evening before dressing time.”³

The draughts may have been responsible for a cold which the Queen caught on November 29, and which renewed itself on December 3. These mishaps prolonged the visit.

¹ Gattie, *Memorials of the Goodwin Sands*, p. 73.

² The Duke slept at Dover Castle while the Queen was at Walmer.

³ *Correspondence*, p. 334.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S BEDROOM, WALMER CASTLE



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It was while at Walmer that the Queen received the news of General Pollock's triumphant entry into Cabul, avenging the massacre ; and of Admiral Parker's success in enforcing before Nanking the conclusion of a treaty by which China ceded Hongkong and opened to British trade the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai.

Lord Dalhousie, on his visit to Deal in January 1843, was shown over Walmer by Captain Watts, and received his first impression of the Castle and of the changes produced by the Royal visit.

" On my way I went with Captain Watts to look at Walmer Castle. The dining-room and drawing-room are not as good as Deal, but the bedrooms better and the whole well-furnished at considerable expense by the Duke. The bastions are fitted here with guns taken from the French ships in Lord Howe's victory in 1794,¹ and there is a saluting battery below. The ditch instead of being in grass as at Deal, is turned into a kitchen garden. There is a very good garden besides and landwards from the Castle is a considerable extent of very pretty pleasure ground and walks among trees and shrubs. When the Queen resided here last autumn, the Lord Chamberlain's people made sad work of some parts of the Castle, knocking up and knocking down in all directions. One alteration in particular is much regretted. They ran up a partition and divided into parts, for a temporary dining - room, Mr. Pitt's *own* room which he

¹ Lord Curzon writes in the margin of this extract " NO ".

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always used and which he chose as his own business room, because looking out from the dead wall of the bastion, it afforded nothing to divert his attention. The room stood as Mr. Pitt left it, with the same furniture and everything, but the partition has altered its form and the gay new paper with which they covered the walls, has changed its character."

On his return to London Dalhousie went to call on Mr. Arbuthnot at Apsley House, and while he was waiting the Duke came in and was glad to hear he liked Deal Castle.

"He then went on to talk of it and the country and people down there. 'I think you'll find it very comfortable. It is a good house. You may live as quietly as you like, you need never see a soul there unless you like; there are a few naval officers and one or two other people, but you may see them or not just as you feel inclined. And I hope it will do Lady Dalhousie good.'

"I said I had taken the liberty of going into Walmer Castle and spoke of it. 'Oh, it's delightful,' he said, 'all those grounds behind it are beautiful, but I seldom go anywhere except on the ramparts myself. You get fine fresh air and look over the sea, and I seldom go off them.'

"'They've knocked about your rooms a little, sir, in this royal visit,' I said, laughing.

"'Yes,' he said, 'yes, oh yes,' arching his eyebrows, looking down on the ground and kicking out one of his feet before him with a little knowing smile. 'Yes, oh yes, they have rather. Cut up

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Mr. Pitt's room and turned it into a dining-room, but it don't signify, I'll soon knock all that down again.'

" ' I hope they don't intend to make a descent upon you every year, sir.'

" ' Gad, I don't know,' he replied again smiling and arching his eyebrows and shaking his head doubtfully.

" ' You had better put them off upon Deal, sir,' I said with a laugh.

" ' Oh no, oh no, oh no ! ' rising higher every time to the last no. ' I'm very happy, I'm sure, oh no. Deal would not do for her. It's delightful for the Queen here, you see : she can slip out at any moment to the beach, or she can get into the grounds behind.'

" ' But the people behaved better here than they do at Brighton, and don't hunt her everywhere, do they, sir ? ' said I.

" ' Gad ! I don't know,' he replied. ' I fancy they watched her pretty close here too ! '

" However, Mr. Arbuthnot told me afterwards that the apothecary who attends the Royal Family at Windsor had said to him the other day that he did not think the Queen would wish to go back again. They went late this year ; the weather was bad : they all caught colds, and fancy the climate was not good.

" I am sure I hope the apothecary may be right. For I should not like to see the Duke banished yearly from Walmer now that we are to be his neighbours."¹

¹ Further extracts from Lord Dalhousie's Diary transcribed by Lord Curzon.

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In the following autumn, 1843, the Queen was on her way from the Château d'Eu, near Tréport, where she had been the guest of Louis Philippe, and sailed to Ostend, to pay a visit to King Leopold I. The Royal yacht anchored in the Downs.

"I went off to pay my respects to Her Majesty and stayed on board two or three hours", the Duke wrote to his niece (then Lady Westmorland). "Her Majesty had with her a squadron of men-at-war, three three-deckers, a 74 and others, and numberless steam vessels. The view from hence was magnificent. The day one of the finest this season. I found Her Majesty much pleased with her visit to the Château d'Eu."

But the Duke did not share her hopefulness.

"France will never forgive our successful resistance of their wild revolutionary ambitions, and will never cease in their efforts to destroy all the sources of our prosperity, happiness, power and influence. We may continue to be, and I hope shall continue to be at peace with them. But more is impossible."¹

These were the sentiments of the Warden of the Cinque Ports in his Castle of Walmer on September 25, 1843.

We have also from about this same period an impression of the Duke at Walmer left by Raikes.

Saturday, September 23, 1843.—"I went down to Walmer Castle, and found the Duke walking

¹ *Correspondence of Lady Burghersh with Duke of Wellington*, p. 150.

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with Mr. Arbuthnot on the rampart, or, as it is called, the platform, which overlooks the sea. Some officers belonging to the ships in the Downs came to dinner. . . . The conversation of the Duke was, as usual, interesting on every subject, his memory surprising, and his knowledge of naval matters and naval architecture as great as if it were his own province.

“ *Monday, October 9.*—The Duke is certainly growing old and feeble, which, though much to be regretted, is not surprising; but he never will allow any one to do anything for him. Greville¹ says: ‘ If he drops his hat, I should never think of stooping to pick it up—he would not like it’. He will get up himself to ring the bell; and I observe at night, when we retire to bed, he will light your flat candle-stick, and give it to you. His politeness is unceasing to all; and here in his own house it is only to be equalled by his kindness and cordiality.

“ He rises very early: perhaps does not give himself sufficient time for sleep. He is always a very long time dressing, as he shaves himself, though his hand is unsteady, and never will allow a servant to assist him.

“ *1843. Wednesday, October 11th.*—We left Walmer, having fixed to-morrow for our return. As every memorial will be interesting hereafter, of the habits and characteristics of one whose name will fill the pages of history, I shall add a few details of the Duke’s daily life at Walmer. He always rises at six o’clock, and walks on the platform, then

¹ Algernon Greville, his secretary.

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returns to his room to dress, which, as I have said, takes a very long time. He is remarkably neat in his appearance, always wearing a white waistcoat and trowsers, under which is a good guard of fleecy hosiery against the cold ; and a blue riding coat in the morning.

“ At ten o’clock he appears at breakfast ; he seems to eat heartily, and makes messes of rusks and bread in his tea, never meat or eggs. He converses the whole time, then retires, saying, ‘ Well, we shall dine at seven ’. He remains in his room, writing letters and despatches, and making notes, some rather droll and concise, on the different letters to be answered by his secretary in his name ; and Greville’s hand is become so like to his, that few people can distinguish the difference. Greville showed me one from Fitzroy Somerset, with details about Ireland. His note on the margin was, ‘ If I am to manage the affairs of Ireland, I had better go there myself ’.

“ About two o’clock, he generally gets on his horse, and gallops over the Downs, or, perhaps, to Dover, where he is very active in attending to his business as Warden of the Cinque Ports. He seems to be worshipped all over the country, for he is very charitable and always ready to do good to his neighbours. In a shop at Dover is to be seen, framed and glazed, a short note, which he once wrote to the owner, ordering fifty yards of flannel ; it is kept as a precious relic.

“ On his return he walks again on the platform, till he enters to dress for dinner, at which he also

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eats with appetite, mixing meat, rice, and vegetables into a mess, which fills his plate ; he drinks very little wine, and during the evening, two decanters of iced water are placed by his side, which are generally empty when he goes to bed.

“ When we were only men, he dressed in boots, but when there are ladies (and when only my daughter) always wears shoes, silk stockings, with his star and the garter. He is exceedingly polite to all, and particularly attentive to women ; he is *la vieille cour personnifiée*.

“ Although still active, yet age has made some havoc with his frame ; his hair is quite white, but not scanty ; he is very deaf with the left ear, and when left to himself or engaged in thought, he stoops very much, and his head seems to droop on his breast ; but the instant any subject is started that interests him, his eye brightens, his head is raised, he puts his hand to his right ear to catch the sound, and enters into the argument with all the spirit, and judgment, and penetration, which form so striking a part of his character.”¹

With these must be set another quotation from Raikes, showing the harder side of the old aristocrat. The date is Monday, October 9, 1843 :

“ When we were assembled in the drawing-room before dinner, the Duke entered, with the proclamation issued at Dublin Castle, to repress the Repeal Meeting at Clontarf, on the 8th inst., which he had just received from town by express. He seemed

¹ Raikes, *Journal*, pp. 382-86.

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very much elated, and putting on his spectacles, read the whole proclamation out loud from beginning to end, laying great stress on the words, *tending to overthrow the Constitution of the British Empire as by law established.* I could see that he was very much pleased with this exercise of authority, and that he thought the Government had been dilatory in not adopting these strong measures at an earlier period. He said, ‘We must now show them that we are really in earnest ; there must be no paltering or truckling with O’Connell ; and as we are well prepared for every emergency, I have no fears for the result. Ten years of misrule in Ireland have rendered our task more difficult, but we must now bring the rascals on their knees ; they give us now a fair pretext to put them down, as their late placard invites the mob to assemble in military order, and their horsemen to form in troops. This order probably was not written by O’Connell himself, but by some eager zealot of his party, who has thus brought the affair to a crisis. Our proclamation is well drawn up, and avails itself of the unguarded opening which O’Connell has given us to set him at defiance.’ He then turned to me and said, ‘Do you know what the Pope’s Nuncio, Gravina, said at Lisbon, at the time of the insurrection ?

‘Pour la canaille
Faut la mitraille.’

As he went in to dinner, he repeated the couplet two or three times.

“He then added, ‘They say they are a starving

THE MOAT FROM THE GARDEN BRIDGE



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people, and yet they can pay 2s. 6d. a-day to 200 or 300 traitors from Manchester to come over and assist them ; it costs them besides 2s. 6d. a-head for their passage, and there are 800 more ready to go over and join them.”¹

It is only fair to add that the Duke’s mind on this matter is better judged by earlier utterances, expressions of his cool mind, not under the threat of rebellion. For instance, on July 7, 1830, in a letter (quoted by Maxwell, ii. 241) he wrote :

“ I confess the annually recurring starvation in Ireland gives me more uneasiness than any other evil existing in the United Kingdom. . . . The proprietors of the country—those who ought to think for the people—are amusing themselves—and the Government are made responsible and they must find the remedy where they can—except in the pockets of the Irish gentlemen.”

Amongst those whom Raikes met at Walmer was Lord Dalhousie, whom the Duke had appointed early in the year to be Captain of Deal Castle, in succession to Lord Mornington, the Duke’s brother, who had resigned.

Lord Mornington’s health was failing, and his departure from Deal contracted the Duke’s circle of intimates. In November 1844 he urged Lady Westmorland—Lord Mornington’s daughter—to come down for the benefit of sea air, in November. “ You can have warm sea baths in the house close to your room. I shall be here till the 15th.”²

¹ Raikes, *Journal*, p. 384.

² *Correspondence*, p. 156.

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At the close of that winter, February 1845, Mornington died. A series of letters from the Duke trace the progress of illness. They are written to his niece, whom he calls "my dearest Priscilla", and are signed "Yours most affectionately", but they always speak of his brother and her father as "Lord Mornington".

"He was mightily pleased at seeing me; and thanked me repeatedly for my constant attention to him; and talked very kindly of Lady Mornington" (his wife, mother of the niece to whom the Duke was writing). "He kissed me when I came away from him!"

It is a strange mixture of genuine kindness and old-fashioned punctilio. The note of admiration must not be taken as ironical; the Duke scattered these marks of exclamation lavishly through his voluminous correspondence.

He was indeed one of the most inveterate letter-writers, and one of the worst. A great part of his occupation was in correspondence. All sorts of people wrote to him, and he answered indiscriminately—very often to the effect that he resented being made the recipient of the letter. He scrupulously destroyed all correspondence of an exclusively private nature, "especially those from ladies", says Maxwell; who notes also as an example of his energy that when Croker sent him in September 1833 some pamphlets on foreign affairs with a request for his criticism, "the Duke sat down at Walmer Castle and replied on sixty sides of large letter paper".

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In many cases he kept copies in his own hand of these communications—even of the most trivial.

Yet occasionally the strong character of the man gave a point to his expression. A good instance is afforded by the letter written from Walmer on November 11, 1846, to Lady Westmorland, commenting on the fact that the equestrian statue of him on the Arch on Constitution Hill was to be removed from its pedestal.

“I have told Lord Morpeth” (who conveyed the intimation) “that there are many instances of the statues of men removed from their pedestals during their lifetime. . . . But I shall be a singular instance of a man whose statue is removed from its pedestal during his lifetime before even it could have been seen.”

His handwriting grew very illegible in his old age; and it was one of his obstinacies to refuse to wear spectacles; so he often only wrote parts of words or even omitted them. His sight for distant objects had remained good and he was rather proud of this and slow to admit its defectiveness for near inspection. That is how Lord Ellesmere, one of the younger men who really loved him, reports.¹ He adds that towards the end the Duke may have been alone sometimes for weeks; but this would only be true after Arbuthnot’s death in 1850. They were inseparable, and there is a story of the housekeeper’s pointing to them on the ramparts and saying how good it was to see “our two dear old gentlemen so happy together”.²

¹ Ellesmere, pp. 90-91.

² *Ibid.*

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Some estimate of what Arbuthnot's loss must have meant to him may be formed from Raikes' description written in 1843. "Arbuthnot is his *fidus Achates*, his second self, from whom he seems to have no secret hid. I observe that at breakfast, he shows him almost all his letters, and his character is so mild and placid, that it blends admirably with that of the Duke, who, with all his fine qualities, when worried and vexed by his multifarious business, is subject at time to momentary fits of anger and excitement. These bursts never last long, and when the bile is once vomited out, he is cool and dispassionate again. Algy¹ says, that this bile is sometimes visited upon Arbuthnot himself, from whom it glides off innocuous, and who often makes a very convenient paratonnerre for others."

Happily, before this tie was broken, another attachment had been formed which filled the last years of his life.

His friendship with the Salisbury household had continued unbroken after Lady Salisbury's death in 1839 : father and children still came often to Walmer in the summer. Then, in 1847, Lord Salisbury married again—and married a young woman of twenty-three, the contemporary of his own children, and their friend. Lady Mary de la Warr was already also a friend of the Duke's, attached to him by an old adoration. Lady Mary had met him in 1835 when she was a child of eleven, and he held her up on his knee in an open carriage as the party

¹ Algernon Greville.

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drove into Cambridge. Fifteen years later he reminded her how “particularly entertained” she had been when he was “under the necessity of losing hold of you in order to twist up my hand and salute those who were cheering”. (Two fingers to his hat was always the Duke’s salute.) As for her, she treasured still, when she was an old woman, who had been a great lady for half a century, “the glove I wore when first I touched the Duke of Wellington’s hand ”.¹

In that year, 1835, the de la Warrs settled for a few weeks at Walmer, and the adoring child had great chances, and kept a diary and recorded them. Once as they were coming out of Walmer Church “the Duke walked by and called me ‘his little friend’ which delights me”. On September 30, “Went out walking with Papa, met the renowned General and Unprecedented Hero, the Duke of Wellington, and had the pleasure of speaking to the illustrious Duke, who looked extremely well”. Again on October 5, on the occasion when the Duke entertained the King and Queen of the Belgians and the Duchess of Kent with the future Queen Victoria, the “little friend” was asked (after the Duke’s fashion of always including children in invitations) to the party. “Walked about on the Battery, spoke to the Duchess, Princess and the Duke . . .

¹ *A Great Man’s Friendship : Letters of the Duke of Wellington to Mary, Marchioness of Salisbury*, edited by Lady Burghclere, p. 10.—These letters of the Duke’s were put at Lord Curzon’s disposal, and his notes contain very long extracts from them. In view of this, Lady Burghclere has kindly authorised the very free use made here of what is in her book, in so far as the extracts relate to life at Walmer.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

I spoke to the Great General and Hero of Waterloo very often at breakfast. He asked why I did not go into luncheon with him and he said he would have taken care of me.”¹

That in itself is interesting enough, for it makes us realise how the “renowned General” laid himself out with all simplicity to give all the pleasure he could to a child, and how an imaginative child saw in him the “Unprecedented Hero”. But it is of very different interest to know what this same lady said of Wellington after she had been twenty-one years wife to one great nobleman and for twenty-three years more wife to another—both prominent members of several Governments. Her expression was : “It is to the Duke that I owe the best of all the good I have learnt, and in especial the forgiveness of injuries”.

The intimacy in which the young woman learnt from the old man may have lasted five years, but we have only documents concerning it for the last two. It was in June 1850 that he began to write to her the series of letters which Lady Burghclere has edited. But already—though from first to last he addressed her punctiliously as “my dear Lady Salisbury”, he ended his letters “God bless you : Ever your most affectionately”.

The first of them written from Walmer is dated August 1850, and is entirely characteristic, being solely concerned with plans for having waistcoats made for her on the pattern that he himself used. Apparently one of the things that she learnt from

¹ Burghclere, p. 12.

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him was to dress herself according to her own convenience. “ Her plain short stiff skirts and thick shoes were a source of half scandalised amazement to the ladies of the epoch ”, says Lady Burghclere—though she does not tell us whether Lady Salisbury actually closed with the Duke’s offer :—“ I can give you some waistcoats at any time to wear with morning costume and they will keep you from cold. I have always plenty of them.”

In another way this letter was typical, for it contained messages about her children. There were three of them, and they were called Sackville Arthur, Mary Arthur and Arthur *tout court*. That was how she expressed her devotion.

It was in August 1850 that Arbuthnot died at Apsley House. “ I really believe that he would have died sixteen years ago when he lost his wife if I had not gone on to him from Hatfield when I was apprized there of her Death ”,¹ the Duke wrote to Lady Salisbury.

She was then at Weymouth and praising its sands. “ In this respect, I am afraid,” she writes, “ Weymouth is vastly superior to Walmer Castle, where there is not a symptom of sand. It is covered by shingle.” But she also had at some time had the use of his “ marine residence ”. On August 27, 1850, he wrote :

“ I arrived here prosperously yesterday evening and I never saw the Castle looking so well. The fields at the back of the beach were quite green, the

¹ Burghclere, p. 73.

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sky without a cloud, the sea calm and blue ; and everything in tranquillity ! I did immediately what I do not doubt was the last thing you did previously to your departure. I walked on to the Tower above and on the platform below, and reflected on what had occurred since these same scenes had been inhabited by you. It is certainly a most delightful residence. I understand that the Queen came in quite close on her passage from Ostend. The Royal Standard was hoisted and a Royal Salute fired. They say that she came in so close as to be known from the platform. I conclude that she thought it probable that I had come down here. I slept in my little camp bed without curtains, which amused you so much ! Indeed I think I liked it better for the notice taken of it.”¹

And again on September 1 :

“ I cannot express to you how delighted I feel that I recommended to you to use my Room as a morning Sitting Room, while you was here. I can understand how comfortable and tranquil you must have found yourself here with your children and my books. Then you have discovered that you could teach yourself the science of Astronomy ! It must have amused you very much to have discovered my marks and Places ! . . . ”²

Staying with him were his grandchildren, sons and daughters of Lady Charles Wellesley, much petted by him. On August 30 he sent Lady

¹ Burghclere, p. 83.

² *Ibid.* p. 89.

THE GARDEN, WALMER CASTLE



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Salisbury a sample piece of the newly laid submarine cable from Dover in its gutta-percha tubing. This interested him, as it was clear that if messages could be transmitted twenty-five miles they could go as well one hundred. But railroads were still his abomination ! When she left Weybridge he was delighted that her party were all to travel together :

“ I confess that I cannot bear seeing or hearing of Ladies going alone by the Trains on the Rail Roads. It is true that you have with you your children. But still the protection of a Gentleman is necessary.”¹

His prejudice was confirmed when he heard a few days later of an accident at Hatfield when Lord Salisbury narrowly escaped.

Next comes the suggestion that she and Lord Salisbury should come to Walmer before he leaves.

“ I do not know whether you ever went riding here. The whole country is open, and people can gallop away in all directions ! ”

He himself rode about always to the last, or drove—a careless driver. Probably, however, he was not responsible for the accident which he relates to her when his carriage was upset coming back from Dover. “ I was not at all hurt or put to inconvenience, except the delay of getting up again the carriage and horses.” Yet he had now turned eighty. His chief concern was that it should not be made much of in the papers.

¹ Burghclere, p. 93.

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It must be understood that the letters were not merely a chronicle of local small beer ; in this month he was proposing to send her a copy of his Paper on Sir Charles Napier's resignation from the post of Commander-in-Chief in India—which she foresaw would be a blow to him. “ You are very right. Napier’s affair did give me a great deal of trouble.” Again, there are his comments on the mobbing of Marshal Haynau at Barclay & Perkins’ Brewery by draymen who beat Haynau because he had flogged women. And this leads him to discuss the imputation to himself of the same harshness in the Peninsular War, in a long passage of vivid reminiscence which gives a perfect idea of his talk.

But here quotation must be confined to what relates to Walmer, and this is a typical passage.

“ You are amused by the applications made to me. I have had a most curious one from one of the young ladies who were in the habit, as children, of coming to my Garden Gate in Hyde Park. This young lady is now with some friends at Broad-stairs ! and she insists upon my sending her an order that the interior of Walmer Castle should be shewn to her and her friends during the time that I am residing here ; at which time, she has heard that the interior of the Castle is not usually shewn.

“ I have told her that my Predecessor in the office of Lord Warden had fitted up part of this Castle as a residence for the Lord Wardens, which I now occupy ! that I have one room in this

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Residence, in which I sleep, dress and write all day ! that the remainder of the House is occupied by my daughters-in-law and their Children or by other visitors, male or female ! That I permitted the Servants to shew to whom they pleased, excepting when inhabited. But at such periods only when not inconvenient to the inhabitants. I added that I believed that I was the only individual in England who would be required by anybody to make a shew of his Bed Room and Dressing Room ; and that I doubted much whether my daughters-in-law, or their Children, or any Ladies or Gentlemen, inhabitants of Rooms in this Residence, would much like the proposition that their Rooms should be made a shew of while they should inhabit them. I have received no answer.”¹

Another letter concerned a guest to whom the Duke’s hospitality was less than usually cordial. On September 10 he wrote :

“ I lately heard that Lord Brougham was much out of spirits ! talked less and retired to his room at night. I offered to wager that he would soon go abroad ; and that I should have him here on his way ! Accordingly I learnt yesterday that he is going abroad ! It appears that he has taken Germany under his patronage ! He is going to Berlin and to other places in Germany. But he comes here first, some time in the month of October ! You see that I made a good guess.”²

¹ Burghclere, p. 105.

² *Ibid.* p. 96.

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The visit came off in October.

"He will be here before dinner and I intend that he shall go away to-morrow", wrote his host on October 5th; and go he did. "I took care to have ready for him information about vessels sailing from the Coast. Otherwise I might have had the pleasure of his company for a month."

Such was the Duke of Wellington's lack of response to those who compared him in glowing periods to Cæsar and Hannibal.

A gale which carried away part of the new constructions at Dover gave him occasion to go over and visit the repairs and satisfy himself that the "essential part of the work" stood firm. Next day he was on the road to London. "I am going there on the principle that the only animal who is never allowed to have any rest is the Duke of Wellington." The occasion was a wedding in the Wellesley family, "and of course the marriage cannot take place unless the Duke of Wellington should be present". Incidentally, having been appointed Ranger of the Parks, he used the chance to reconnoitre the position taken up by a woman who had squatted in Hyde Park, establishing a dwelling on a spot where she had been allowed to set up a stall for selling cakes and oranges.

At the end of four days he was back in his castle: and on October 29 was "out hunting all morning with the Harriers"—which apparently had reappeared.

His office of Ranger was promising to be no

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sinecure, for preparations were on foot for erecting the “Buildings in the Park for the Grand Exhibition of 1851”—Paxton’s Crystal Palace. Many unpopular things had to be done. “I am always ready to go : and therefore I am always in harness.”

That year’s concern with Walmer ended with the Dover Harbour meeting on November 14 for which he stayed ; and he returned to London on the 15th when he announced triumphantly that “we have got rid of the squatter in the Park. She has quitted her residence and the ground on which it stood or rather fell has been levelled.”

During the early part of the summer of 1851 the “Glass Palace” figures largely in his letters : he went in constantly to inspect the attendance. Sir Charles Dilke remembered seeing him there in white duck trousers. By the middle of July Lady Salisbury was again a mother, and his first thought was to offer his house for convalescence.

“I am delighted to receive such favourable Reports of your regular Progress to recovery, in answer to my enquiries ; and as I recollect the benefit which you derived on the last occasion by a residence at Walmer Castle I again offer it to you ! It is ready at all times ! But it might be convenient to Mrs. Allen to let her know you would go there with your children, and I therefore mention the subject now. I shall not require to go there for more than six weeks from this time.

“ You will see therefore that you will have plenty of time to enjoy the repose of Walmer Castle

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and recover your health and strength without fear of being molested or putting me to inconvenience. God bless you.

“ I was delighted to see your children so well on Saturday in the Park. They both knew me ! but particularly the little girl insisted upon my taking her hand.”¹

He was back at Walmer at the beginning of October; left it for a visit to Worsley Hall, where he met Lord Derby, father of her future second husband :—and by the 14th he was back. On the 17th he is just returned from galloping over to Dover ; to see whether the bad weather of Wednesday had done any serious mischief. Guests came—Prince Frederick of the Netherlands (son of William II., King of Holland), and with him Field-Marshal Nugent—who had once been made go to his devotions. The visit was no pleasure. On October 19 :

“ I have had all my guests here since yesterday ; and am heartily tired of them ! I do not know when they go ! I am really so deaf as to be entirely unfit for social life ! But here I am obliged to sit from morning till night in fruitless endeavour to entertain people, who have no means of entertaining themselves.”²

On the 30th he had to go up to London to attend the funeral of his sister-in-law, Lady Mornington (mother of his favourite niece, Lady Burghersh) ;

¹ Burghclere, pp. 201-202.

² *Ibid.* p. 208.

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back to Walmer next day, and again to London
on the 2nd to attend a Chapter of the Garter.

“ It is quite delightful to pass one’s days on a Rail Road which is my common practice, and to be under the necessity of dressing every morning by candle light in order to be in time for the trains ! ”¹

This year again his stay ended on the 14th after the sitting of the Harbour Court ; and the vacant Castle was lent to Lord Ellesmere. “ But ”, he wrote, “ I will take care to remove all traces of your Studies ! Which I will give you in case you should ever resume these old quarters.”

They were placed at her disposal in the following Spring—and seemingly she thought it necessary to ask leave to bring her mother. The Duke answered :

“ Of course I never do things by halves ; and having given up Walmer Castle, you will be mistress and admit whom you please.

“ But I beg to suggest to you to invite Lady De La Warr and any of your family to go to you at Walmer Castle. All the rooms there are warm and comfortable, and change of air may be the best remedy for her Cold ! She should stay as long as her Residence may be necessary ; even if you should come away.”²

By the 15th Lady Salisbury was in her old quarters, and on the 17th he wrote :

¹ Burghclere, p. 212.

² *Ibid.* p. 254.

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“ You are right, my dear Lady Salisbury, nobody but ourselves can be sensible of the happiness which you enjoy in your residence at Walmer Castle. I delight in the thoughts of it ! I hope that it will prove beneficial to the health of yourself and your children.

“ You must know Walmer Castle as well as I do, otherwise I would send you the plan.

“ You know that besides the Rooms which you and your children occupy, and those in which I recommended you to lodge your Mother, Sister and attendants ! there are two excellent apartments below stairs, one under the Room in which you sleep, the other under the Room opposite to it, in which you might place Lord Salisbury or any of your brothers who might go down to visit you while your Mother should be there ! ”¹

On the 21st there is the first reference to an incident as characteristic as any in the Duke’s history.

At the close of February the Liberal Government had been beaten on a motion of Lord Palmerston’s and a General Election followed. The country was still in some measure shaken by the revolutionary movement which came to a head in 1848—when the Duke in his eightieth year had as Commander-in-Chief to organise the defence of London, and did it with unimpaired mastery. Naturally, the Tory party strained every resource. No one was more completely a Conservative than the Duke of Wellington,

¹ Burghclere, p. 259.



THE MOAT FROM THE SOUTH

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON
and party organisation counted on his support
at Dover and the other Cinque Ports. They were
mistaken and there was trouble :

“ It is very true, my dear Lady Salisbury, I have just now had a very painful interview with Lord Salisbury respecting the Dover Election ! I am very sorry for it ! But contending Candidates at Dover thought proper to use my name and I am to be crossed not only with politicians but with friends.

“ I am very happy to learn that Lady de la Warr continues so well and that you continue to enjoy your residence at Walmer Castle and your children so well.”¹

And on April 24 :

“ I know no more of the proceedings of the Dover Election. I have not seen Lord Salisbury since Wednesday 21, and I certainly consider it desirable to avoid to see him and to renew a painful discussion calculated to excite irritation in his mind ! In the violence of which he might repeat things which, when frequently repeated, he might carry into execution. It is impossible to say to what this affair tends ; and when it will end ! It is now in the hands of a Committee of the Carlton Club.

“ I am in an anomalous Position. One which no individual can long maintain. I have been under the necessity of isolating myself and of standing alone ! I could not do otherwise, and hold the office of Commander-in-Chief.

¹ Burghclere, p. 262.

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“ But few will understand the necessity for this isolation ! Above all not a Committee of the Carlton Club ! It is necessary to understand closely the position in which every individual stands in relation to any subject which may be in discussion ! I did not know till last Wednesday that Lord Salisbury was a Member of the Committee of the Club and spoke to me in that capacity.”¹

On the 26th there is this note :

“ I write one line from hence before I go home to tell you that I met my friend and we shook hands cordially as usual ! without a word upon the subject of dispute.”²

That note is eloquent. It was not a matter of difficulty for the Duke of Wellington to follow out his own conception of duty, no matter how the Committee of the Carlton Club might rage. He was now in correspondence with the new head of the administration, Lord Derby — and evidently precedents had been quoted by “the Rupert of debate”. Previous Lords Warden had certainly used influence in elections.

“ You will think that I might be satisfied by doing what Lord North, Mr. Pitt and Lord Liverpool did in their days respectively ! I answer that however superior to me in other respects, I believe that I am a better and more beneficial Lord Warden than any of the . . .”³

¹ Burghclere, p. 264.

² *Ibid.* p. 266.

³ *Ibid.* p. 268.

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But although he does not say a word of it, he was evidently aware that by his course he jeopardised the old intimacy between him and Lord Salisbury's family ; and their daily letters make it plain beyond dispute that the whole of his tenderness was bound up in the young woman to whom he wrote these daily letters. The little line from the House of Lords says without words how great had been his anxiety lest a break should come.

None came ; indeed, it was not likely that anyone would quarrel with the Duke of Wellington for acting on a sense of his duty. "I have heard nothing about Dover ", he wrote on May 1, " excepting a little growling."

Meantime, there was much correspondence about arrangements for the reception of Lady de la Warr at Walmer.

" I have been very anxious upon the subject not alone on account of the comfort of Lady de la Warr ! but knowing the nature of all English servants, for the sake of my poor Mrs. Allen.

" The truth is that our English servants are so cross-grained that they will not allow families to live together as they do in other countries. Here we are obliged in general to receive them as visitors ! In foreign countries they live together as one family. Here that is impossible ! The Servants will not allow it ! "¹

This passage is one of the things which show that Wellington, though so typically a British soldier,

¹ Burghclere, p. 271.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

had much familiarity with Continental life, which would have been much more remarkable in the eighteenth century than in the nineteenth. The years which he passed in the Military College at Angers—the very years in which Napoleon was a pupil at Brienne—did for him what the grand tour had done for so many English gentlemen in the days of Louis XV. and XVI. He made acquaintance with French families of good position and he acquired a command of the language. In these letters one finds him frequently using French phrases—for instance on September 2, 1852 :

“ This is the last quiet day I shall have here ! I certainly prefer to ménager tout seul à moi, rather than to feel that I have others.”

In July it was announced that the Queen intended a cruise to Ostend to see Prince Leopold.

“ She will anchor at Dover possibly to look at the Western Heights ; at all events to allow Prince Albert to see them. I ought to be there to do the Honours. If she should anchor in the Downs I ought to be there. However if I go it will only be for a few days.”¹

Accordingly on August 7 he was at Walmer and the Cinque Port Pilots were standing by in numbers. At 5 P.M. on the 10th the Royal yacht was in the Downs and Prince Albert came ashore to call on the Lord Warden. Lady Salisbury seems to have

¹ Burghclere, p. 297.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON expected that the Queen also would have visited him, for he wrote :

" It is curious that you were thinking of the Queen being at Walmer Castle, while I was thinking of going on board to pay my respects to Her Majesty. It never occurred to me to be possible to starve Her Majesty upon the Cookery of Mrs. Allen's *Cuisine*. "

" I was inspired that I should be ducked again on my visit to the Queen, as I had been in the one paid two or three years ago. But I regretted that I did not go off with Prince Albert when he returned to the Yacht, after visiting me at the Castle." ¹

The ducking here referred to dates back to August 1850, when the Queen's yacht had been in the Downs and the Duke did go on board to pay his respects.

On August 25, 1852, he arrived for the last time at Walmer after " a very good journey in less than four hours from my house in London ". It was settled in advance that Lord and Lady Salisbury should visit him in September. For the present he had to entertain the Grand Duchess Catherine of Russia and her husband, Prince George of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. " I wish ", he wrote on his arrival, " that my Imperial Royalties were in Russia." But on the 29th he packed them off by the boat for Ostend—driving them into Dover. Having related this to Lady Salisbury he turns to one of his constant themes—the care of health and his constant

¹ Burghclere, p. 307.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

preoccupation for old or young--abstinence. (Again and again he advised it for her babies.) "The great art of all is not to give the stomach too much to do."

"I certainly am a good Doctor, at least for myself. I never have any other ! But I am a most severe one ! My only remedy is temperance, and keeping the skin in order by ablution and friction. I eat very little, and never eat or drink anything that can disagree with my Stomach in the State in which I think it is ! In this I am most severe towards myself. The consequence is that I am always well ! never fatigued, and I can do anything ! I have none of the infirmities of old age ! excepting *Vanity* perhaps ! But that is a disease of the mind, not of the Body ! My deafness is accidental ! If I was not deaf, I really believe that there is not a youth in London who could enjoy the world more than myself or could bear fatigue better ! but being deaf, the spirit, not the body, tires ! One gets bored, in boring others, and one becomes too happy to get home."¹

He was at this time quite alone with his domestics at Walmer. Lord Ellesmere notes that this was often so, in the latter years of his life, for long periods. Deafness had cut him off from his enjoyment of general society. He only cared to have with him his near kindred—and those whom he loved. In this autumn he looked forward to a visit from this most cherished of all his friends. She and Lord Salisbury were to come to Walmer in the middle of

¹ Burghelere, p. 314.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON

September. Meanwhile, he was planning an excursion by train to Tunbridge Wells to meet them at Buckhurst on or about Wednesday, September 1. But "Lady Charles (Wellesley) comes here Friday with her Children! Thursday I wished to be here in order to see that everything was prepared for her, Nurses and Children."

It would seem that he went, for he writes on September 2: "I am very sorry that you did not get your ride yesterday. I have had this day a more fatiguing day than yesterday." He had gone to Folkestone to see John Wilson Croker, then living there, an invalid with a family. Things miscarried. The Duke rode to Dover, took the train to Folkestone, and was told that Radnor Place was quite near. No fly being available, he set off to walk. "I was told that it was half a mile! then that it was a mile; it was three miles across the valley, through the town, down hill, then up a steep hill."¹ At the end of the march he found that Croker was away and had gone to Dover—where the Duke met him on his way back. Two days later he went over again, talked much to the invalid, and as usual went out of his way to be kind to the five children of the house.

By this time he had his own grandchildren established at Walmer. Lord Charles Wellesley joined them. Meantime, the letters to Lady Salisbury go on daily. One of the latest—on September 8—tells how he replied to the Bishop of Durham, who solicited a post as Elder Brother of

¹ Burghclere, p. 318.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

Trinity, on behalf of a certain Captain T. who claimed to have protected the Duke from the mob on Waterloo Day, 1832. Here is the letter:

“ I perfectly recollect having been followed by a Mob from the Mint to Lincoln’s Inn on the 18th of June 1832. I have heard of individual accounts of many for my relief ; but I confess that I have no recollection of such acts during the progress of the riot and Pursuit.

“ If I could recollect such acts I should personally feel very grateful, but My Lord I have been unanimously elected a Master of the Corporation of the Trinity House ; I believe as many have a right to it as me, I consider myself bound to perform the duties in a view solely to the interests of the public and the credit and duty of the Corporation ; and I cannot use its Patronage to reward services rendered to myself personally, particularly if I were in Personal danger. But moreover, I never have decided upon any question of Patronage of the Trinity House, excepting when seated in my place at the Board, and I must decline to form any decision upon the proposition that Captain T. should be appointed an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, till I shall be present at the Board and shall hear of the proposition made.”¹

“ This is their great Whig Bishop ”, he writes to Lady Salisbury. “ I think I have taught him how to dispose of brilliant patronage. The whole story is false.” And then he goes on to set down for

¹ Burghclere, p. 327.

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her exactly what did happen, including the fact that one gentleman in a Tilbury got his horse in behind the Duke. “I never discovered who the Gentleman was. I thought that he was of service to me, and that he intended it. Certainly, while he followed me the mob could not run in upon me.”¹ —That gentleman might not have got the Duke’s support in seeking a job, but he would certainly, had he been discovered, have received acknowledgement that he probably would have valued more.

On the 10th he is looking back with glee to the “first blow that I gave to the Whig Reform Government”, by triumphantly entering upon the Chancellorship at Oxford in 1834—and poor King William’s delight. “He told me”, rubbing his hands, “that his Ministers could never recover from the mortification it gave them!”² He even thought he had disappointed them by avoiding false quantities in his Latin address—though contemporary tradition does not support his view. “Jacōbus”, he said; and some one prompted Jacōbus. So when the next King’s name came up for utterance, the Duke made it Carōlus.

On Saturday the 11th he discharged the last of his duties, by riding over to Dover to inspect the works then in progress at the Harbour of Refuge. The last sentence in his letters to Lady Salisbury was written on Monday, September 13: “I am all prepared to receive you on Wednesday! God bless you! Ever yours with most sincere regard and affection. WELLINGTON.”³

¹ Burghclere, pp. 325-26.

² *Ibid.* p. 329.

³ *Ibid.* p. 331.

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On the day before he had commented once more on the miscellaneous and unreasonable letters that came to him; and then comes this singular paragraph:

“ I had one this morning from a Madman who announces that he is a messenger from the Lord, and will deliver his message to-morrow morning Monday at Walmer Castle ! We shall see ! ”

And on that Monday, the 13th, all went as usual. The Duke walked about, inspected the stables, and gave orders for sending a carriage next day to meet his niece, Lady Westmorland, at Dover, for she also was to join the house party. In the evening he played with the children as usual—one would like to believe that they fought one more “ battle of Waterloo ” : and so to dinner and to his reading and to bed.

On Tuesday the 14th the valet called him at six as usual : but, unlike himself, he was sleeping heavily and made no sign. At seven the man came back, and the Duke saying he did not feel well ordered him to send for the apothecary. Mr. Hulke of Deal was fetched, saw no reason for alarm, ordered a cup of tea and rest, and then went away. But by nine o’clock it was clear that one of his epileptic fits was approaching : Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley and Captain Watts came into his room and ordered the apothecary and Dr. McArthur to be fetched again. The Duke was speechless. Several seizures followed, and in the hope to ease him, he was lifted off his bed on to a chair ; his legs resting on another, his hands on

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a pillow in front of him, and his head thrown back. At noon a grave convulsion came, and at quarter past three all was over.

Late in the afternoon Lady Westmorland with her husband reached the Castle. The Union Jack, which was hoisted on the Castle while the Lord Warden was in residence and hauled down when he went away, now flew at half-mast. From October 14 till November 11, the body lay in the room where he died—long delay being needed to assemble both Houses of Parliament to pass the vote for a public funeral. The remains were enclosed in a shell and this again in a coffin, draped with a black pall, which rested on a low bier covered with black cloth. The walls also were covered with black, the windows closed, and lighted candelabra turned the room into a *chapelle ardente*.

Meantime, his kindred had gathered, and on Sunday, October 19, service was read for the family in the drawing-room by the Reverend Gerald Wellesley. Meanwhile, his own Rifle Regiment furnished a Guard of Honour, on duty night and day.

On November 9 and 10, the two days before that fixed for the removal of the remains, the general public of the neighbourhood was admitted. The Duke had always been a part of the local life : for a generation, they had been familiar with the sight of him riding about with his groom behind him, or walking unaccompanied in the streets of Deal ; and now naturally they pressed in to pay the last respect. All were expected to wear mourning, and between eight and nine thousand persons were

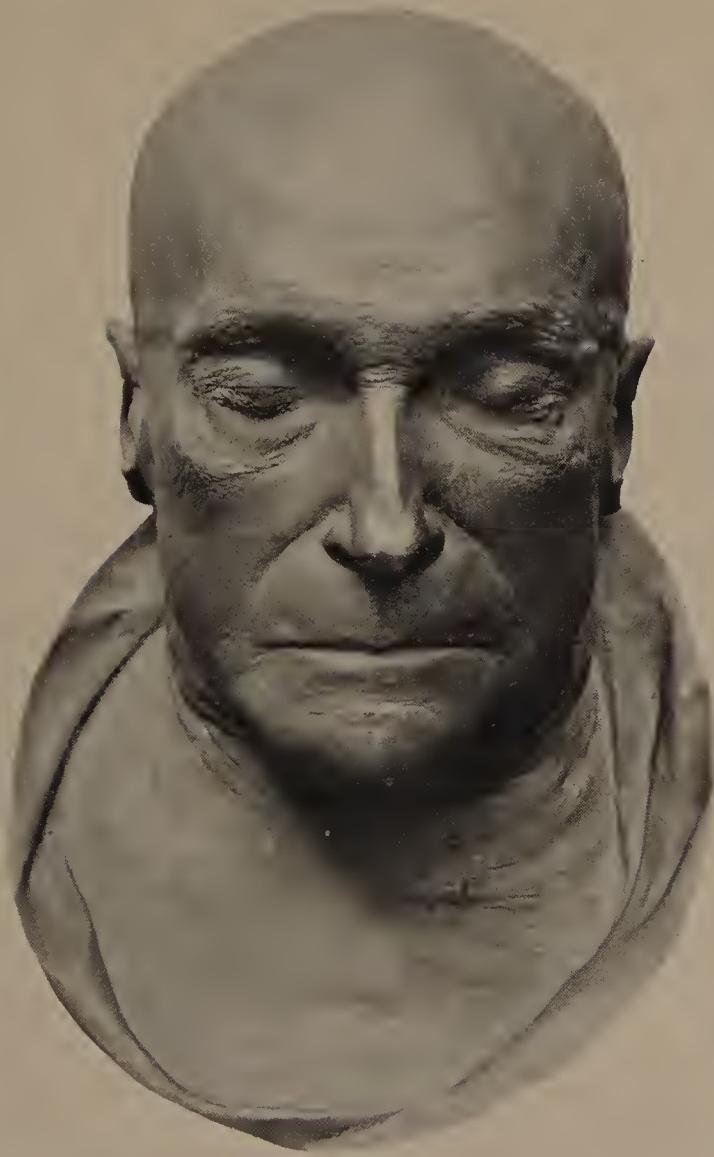
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admitted. They came up the steps on to the bastions, then in at the ante-room, down the corridor, then into the small room and then to where the Duke lay, and, having passed the end of the coffin, went out down the steps and over the bridge in the garden and so to the beach : the guard of honour meanwhile standing with hands resting on arms reversed.

At seven on the evening of November 10 the body was taken in a hearse with four horses to Deal, the old servants Kendall and Collins accompanying it. Salutes were fired from the battery at Walmer and from the Castle at Deal. Entrained at Deal, the remains reached Chelsea Hospital at midnight, where they lay in state for five days. On the sixth (November 18) was the funeral.

A few stray notes may be added about the Duke's personal habits. Rising at six every morning, he wrote and read till ten, when he joined his party at breakfast ; after that he would often sit talking, and telling anecdotes, especially if there were ladies present. Luncheon was at two ; in the afternoon he walked, rode or drove—generally in a two-horsed phaeton—a careless but speedy driver. At Strathfieldsaye, according to Lord Ellesmere,¹ when it was cold and raining, he used to close a glass window in front of his curricle and drive, or make his companion drive, with the reins passed through a small hole. Dinner was at seven, and though he himself ate so sparingly, he kept a French cook. The menu for each day was always

¹ *Recollections*, p. 76.



DEATH MASK OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

From a cast in bronze at Walmer Castle

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shown him, and he nearly always insisted on a plain joint and pudding or tart for himself. On State occasions he brought down a famous *chef* from London. His usage was to sit at table till nine, then lead the men to join the ladies in the drawing-room for coffee. Cards were never played in his house ; he sat and read and chatted. The ladies retired about eleven ; half an hour later he would take his flat candlestick and go off to his own room, after showing guests to theirs, no matter what their age or rank—even subalterns. The little room next to his own was generally occupied by Arbuthnot or by his secretary “Algy” Greville. After Arbuthnot’s death the Duke’s valet slept in it.

He had no knowledge of farming and took no interest in the management of the lands attaching to the Castle ; but all else he oversaw carefully, punctiliously paying his bills himself week by week. As to gardening, his attitude may be illustrated by the story of a veteran whom he proposed to employ as gardener ; the old soldier objected that he knew nothing of gardening. “No more do I,” said the Duke, “but you can learn.” And so he did, and (according to the Duke) “made an excellent gardener”.

One of the few changes made by him in the place was that he converted the moat into a kitchen garden. He always refused to put up a suspension bridge from the living rooms to the beach (as was done later by Lord Granville), but always went round by the drawbridge. But he introduced the innovation of sash-windows, presumably to cope with draughts.

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One apartment, however, has a special association ; it is always known as the Duke's W.C.—being the scene of an episode which Sir William Fraser relates :

“ On one occasion at Walmer the Duke found himself in an embarrassing position . . . shut into a very small room indeed ; and by an accident to the bolt he failed to open the door. This very small room had a very small window through which it was possible to see horizontally but from the thickness of the Castle wall not vertically. Few would have known what to do. It would not have been well for the Duke to rouse the neighbours by shouts ; every sort of story of illness and death would have been circulated. The Duke retained the same calmness as he did in battle. Opposite to the window was a tower deeply covered with ivy, by this ivy the Duke had observed starlings nesting. He accordingly waited and no sooner did the birds fly out in a mass than the Duke concluded some human being was passing. He then called out, and was liberated.”

But if ever an apartment had definite associations with a human being, it is the Duke's own room. Lord Ellesmere, one of the younger men who idolised him, was at Walmer in November and December 1851 ; the Duke had lent it him. “ Any service of this kind to a friend was what he most delighted in, and he thought Walmer, as he thought most places where his own lot was cast, charming, and that its dry soil and sea air would suit my

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health. I occupied as my study the room in which he died and where alas ! he now lies. . . . I have seen him in that room, with its litter of papers, with its deep embrasures, its crosslights, and its curtainless camp-bed with its faded green silk cover. I know every book in the shelves near the bed.”¹

Lady Charles Wellesley, his daughter - in - law, who saw him die, gives this picture :

“ The Duke did, I may say, all his writing in his bedroom, and chiefly at the ‘ stand-up ’ writing-desk which stood in the recess in the window looking to sea, and I often saw him there from the ramparts, the sun shining on his silvery hair.”²

“ On the mantelpiece of this room stood a small ivory figure of Napoleon, seated with his legs across the seat of an armchair, his arm resting on the back. ‘ That is how he commanded at the Battle of Wagram ’, said the Duke when he shewed it to a certain Mr. Tucker, who told the story to Lord Broughton in October 1847.”³

He had no taste for art any more than for literature, and valued a picture simply as a likeness. In the last month of his life, when the Duchess of Mecklenburg - Strelitz was his guest, and touched his heart a little (“ My little Duchess ”, he calls her in a letter to Lady Westmorland), he unhooked a portrait of himself from the dining-room wall and offered it to her, saying : “ It is the very best

¹ Ellesmere, p. 87.

² Letter to Col. Coxan in the correspondence relating to heirlooms.

³ *Recollections of a Long Life*, by Lord Broughton, vol. vi. p. 200.

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likeness that was ever taken of me". A Portuguese artist had painted him after the Battle of Talavera, and this was a proof from the engraving. After he had given it he wrote at once to London for a facsimile but could only get an ordinary impression, which now hangs in the Castle. Lord Ellesmere says of it : "He is represented I think, in Portuguese uniform, and it is remarkable for the size and strength of the legs, in which I believe the artist was accurate. The engraver inscribed under it the Latin word *Invicto*. Croker tells me that the Duke wrote under this in pencil, 'Don't cry till you are out of the wood'."¹

Lord Curzon has left in rough outline this summary of the Duke's duties as Lord Warden :

He daily gave the countersign to the garrison of regular troops at Dover.

He consigned Cinque Ports debtors to a Cinque Port jail on the roadway leading to Dover Castle.

He still collected droits of Admiralty and appointed chartered pilots for vessels bound to the Thames.

He exercised within his jurisdiction as Lord Warden the authority of a Lord-Lieutenant and appointed Justices of the Peace having jurisdiction coincident with that of Mayor and Aldermen in a borough with a charter.

If Cinque Port Volunteers were raised he would have been *ex officio* their Colonel.

¹ Ellesmere, p. 90.

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He attended Courts of lode manage at Dover for the appointment and discipline of pilots.

He presided over the Harbour Board at Dover.

These duties were virtually unpaid : but from dues and fees an income of about £300 came to him. This ceased on his demise when the Lord Warden's control of the pilots was abolished.

He made himself thoroughly familiar with matters of naval strength, specially as affecting the defence of the Channel. Jones in his work on Dover recalls one of his proposals. The Duke, giving evidence before the Shipwreck Committee of the House of Commons, observed that the application of steam would effect an important change in naval warfare, and went on to suggest the possibility of constructing places of defence on the Goodwin Sands for the special protection of the Downs and the Channels, as well as on other suitable banks. The Goodwins are just opposite to Walmer, but the suggestion was never even discussed.¹

Lord Dalhousie,² writing in 1852, observed : "The Duke during the last two years that I was Captain of Deal Castle (1845-47) walked me up and down the ramparts of Walmer for hours discoursing on one topic and one topic alone—the utterly defenceless state we were in ; the labour he took to have it recognised and the necessity for repairing the error. . . . He was then busy on his plan for defending the Downs by forts on the Goodwins built

¹ Gattie, *Memorials of the Goodwin Sands*, p. 253.

² *Private Letters of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, edited by S. G. A. Baird, p. 241.

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upon Bullock's cylinders, which being completed he affirmed, 'Not a French cat, by —, could make its way in '."

The last word shall be left to a poet. Nothing could show more clearly how public imagination associated the Duke with the port at which he died than Longfellow's tribute :

THE WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS

A MIST was driving down the British Channel,
The day was just begun,
And through the window-panes, on floor and panel,
Streamed the red autumn sun.

It glanced on flowing flag and rippling pennon,
And the white sails of ships ;
And, from the frowning rampart, the black cannon
Hailed it with feverish lips.

Sandwich and Romney, Hastings, Hythe and Dover
Were all alert that day,
To see the French war-steamers speeding over,
When the fog cleared away.

Sullen and silent, and like couchant lions,
Their cannon through the night,
Holding their breath, had watched, in grim defiance,
The sea-coast opposite.

And now they roared at drum-beat from their stations
On every citadel ;
Each answering each, with morning salutations,
That all was well.

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And down the coast, all taking up the burden,
Replied the distant forts,
As if to summon from his sleep the Warden
And Lord of the Cinque Ports.

Him shall no sunshine from the fields of azure,
No drum-beat from the wall,
No morning gun from the black fort's embrasure,
Awaken with its call !

No more, surveying with an eye impartial
The long line of the coast,
Shall the gaunt figure of the old Field Marshal
Be seen upon his post !

For in the night, unseen, a single warrior,
In sombre harness mailed,
Dreaded of man, and surnamed the Destroyer,
The rampart wall had scaled.

He passed into the chamber of the sleeper,
The dark and silent room,
And as he entered, darker grew, and deeper,
The silence and the gloom.

He did not pause to parley or dissemble,
But smote the Warden hoar ;
Ah ! what a blow ! that made all England tremble,
And groan from shore to shore.

Meanwhile, without, the surly cannon waited,
The sun rose bright o'erhead ;
Nothing in Nature's aspect intimated
That a great man was dead.

CHAPTER VIII

LATER LORDS WARDEN

ON September 17, 1852, three days after the Duke of Wellington's death, the Prince Consort and Lord Derby, then Prime Minister, settled in consultation at Balmoral that the Marquis of Dalhousie,¹ then Governor-General of India, should be appointed.

On November 23 Lord Dalhousie wrote from Government House to the Queen, announcing that he would, as requested by the Ministry and the Court of Directors, remain at his post for some longer period than January 1853, when he had proposed to resign.

“ Many private considerations combined to draw him homewards. But the gracious approbation with which his services have been viewed was a sufficient motive for continuing them longer if they were thought profitable to the State.

“ Your Majesty has very recently been pleased to bestow upon him a still further distinction which calls not merely for the expression of his deep and humble gratitude to your Majesty, but for a further

¹ James Andrew Broun Ramsay, Marquis of Dalhousie. Lord Curzon left a considerable body of notes concerning Lord Dalhousie's Wardenship, and they have been carefully followed.

THE MOAT FROM THE GARDEN BRIDGE



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devotion to Your Majesty's service of whatever power he may possess for promoting its interests.

"That Your Majesty should prefer him at all to an office of such traditional distinction as the Wardenship was an honour to which the Governor-General would never at any time have dreamt of aspiring. But by conferring it upon him thus—during his absence, and above all, by conferring it in immediate succession to one whom he must all his life regard with reverence, gratitude and affection, Your Majesty has surrounded this honour with so much of honourable circumstance that the Governor-General is unable to give full expression to the feelings with which he has received Your Majesty's goodness.

"The Governor-General is very sensible that in him as Lord Warden Your Majesty will have but a very sorry successor to the Duke of Wellington in every respect, save one. But in that one respect—namely, in deep devotion to Your Majesty's crown and to the true interests of Your Empire—the Governor-General does not yield even to the Master he was long so proud to follow."¹

The Marquis of Dalhousie, famous as Governor-General of India for eight eventful years, was son of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie, who had commanded with distinction a division in the Peninsular War. He succeeded his father as tenth Earl in 1838. In the House of Lords he quickly made his mark and attracted the attention of Wellington and Peel.

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. ii. p. 485.

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Peel appointed him successively Vice-President and President of the Board of Trade, which offices he held with distinction from 1843 to 1846. Wellington had, however, still earlier, on January 25, 1843, offered the Captaincy of Deal Castle to Lord Dalhousie, who wrote :

“ This is the first public office I have ever filled. I hold it not from the Crown or from the Minister, but I hold it by his own gift and goodwill from the foremost man in all the world, the Duke of Wellington, and I hope to keep it to my dying day as a proud testimony of friendship and good opinion with which he honoured me.”¹

On the following Friday—January 27—by the Duke’s desire, Lord Dalhousie

“ Went down to commence the arrangement of the transfer of furniture at Deal Castle. The railroad carried me as far as Ashford and a coach brought me from there to Dover by 4 o’clock. The country over which we passed latterly seemed the most hopelessly impracticable an one for railways that ever I saw, but they expect to have it into the town of Dover next year. They are working all night by torchlight, they are tunnelling through Shakespeare’s Cliff, and the day before I went down they had blown away into the sea one million tons of another cliff, by a single blast formed of 18,000 lbs. of powder.”²

¹ This and the following passages come from Dalhousie’s Diary, which was lent to Lord Curzon by Sir W. Lee-Warner in 1910.

² Afterwards Dalhousie, both at the Board of Trade and in India, was specially interested in railway construction. (Lord Curzon’s note.)

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"I could not get sworn on that day, as Colonel Smart, the Deputy-Lieutenant of Dover Castle (and who, being my superior officer, is the person before whom I must be sworn, in the absence of the Lieutenant and the Constable of Dover Castle, *i.e.* the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports), was not at hand.

"I arranged to do it next day at 3 o'clock. That morning, Saturday 28th, I drove over with the gentleman who was to value the furniture, to Deal Castle. The road from Dover climbs the hill under the walls of the Castle, and thence over a high down country to Deal. The land is rich and well cultivated, tho' it is not much enclosed. There is very little wood till you come to Walmer. There is a considerable village near Walmer Castle, which we passed through; and then, leaving the Castle on the right, we came to the shore. A line of houses faces the sea, the town of Deal lies at the further end, and between the two, standing forward with its bastions almost in the sea, is Deal Castle.

"I remained there about two hours and came away quite delighted and pleased with my appointment far beyond my expectations. The Castle is a fortress built in the days of Henry VIII., having six bastions with a round tower in the centre—the whole surrounded by a dry ditch. Along the face of the tower towards the sea, Lord Carrington, the last Captain but one, built a long edifice in which are several good rooms, and very much improved the whole thing as a residence. There is an excellent drawing-room, and a great number of bedrooms of

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one kind or another ; they are in all sorts of odd places, and of all kinds of queer shapes, but very dry and comfortable. Below there is excellent accommodation for servants of every description. The ditch is in grass with a walk round it and beautiful fruit trees trained round the circle on the walls ; a good stable and a good plain kitchen garden with good fruit trees, and, thank my stars ! no hot-houses or greenhouses, complete the domain.

“ I found there Captain Watts, the Duke’s Captain at Walmer, who very obligingly showed me everything. As soon as I entered the Castle and took possession, they hoisted the flag, which was kept flying till I left Deal. At the same time a Return of the Garrison was given to me, consisting of myself, a lieutenant, a porter and eight gunners, all of whom except myself were reported ‘ unfit for service ’, so that my garrison, although highly distinguished no doubt, cannot be considered as particularly effective. The old porter, as sulky a Cerberus apparently as one would wish to see at a fortified gate, is the nearest approach to an effective we have, and he is nobody knows what age and has had an apoplectic stroke into the bargain.

“ The whole Castle is to be repaired and painted by the Ordnance as soon as the estimates are passed, and the whole fabric is kept in repair by the Government.”

Lord Dalhousie’s tenure of office in India was extended far beyond what he foresaw in 1852 : he returned only in May 1856, and was therefore an

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absentee Lord Warden. In his absence his friend Sir George Couper¹ acted as Lord Deputy, managing affairs at the Castle.

On his appointment to the Governor-Generalship he had resigned his Captaincy of Deal Castle, but maintained correspondence intermittently with old Captain Watts. A letter to his “brother Captain”, concerning the wine which had been left by him at Deal Castle, offers Captain Watts four dozen cases of champagne “as we cannot drink it together”.²

Another, dated from Government House on March 4, 1853, informed Captain Watts that the appointment to the Lord Wardenship, offered him in the previous September, had only just been confirmed :

“ I need not say to you who know what my feelings were towards our Great Master that I have been in the highest degree flattered and gratified by the act of Government in naming me to be his successor.”

It is, however, plain from Dalhousie’s private correspondence that his sentiments in respect to the Duke had not been undisturbed. He wrote to Couper from Government House, July 10, 1852 :

“ You mention having seen the Duke slipping along in a bleak east wind with white duck trousers on. Perhaps you are not aware that there is not a

¹ Sir George Couper, Bt., Captain in the 92nd Highlanders, was A.D.C. in the Peninsula to General the Earl of Dalhousie, then commanding the 7th Division. The Marquis of Dalhousie was son to the General.

² This letter is part of a correspondence bought by Lord Curzon at Sotheby’s in 1916 and presented by him to Walmer, where Lord Beauchamp has had it bound up.

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little humbug in that affectation of hardness by His Grace. He wears the white trousers, but there is always more than one pair of flannel drawers under them. . . . Of late he has completely cut me. Indeed, he was never the same to me after he behaved so ill to me in 1847, when old Arbuthnot intrigued me out of Deal Castle for Lady Clanwilliam. It was a very unnecessary intrigue for if the Duke had but said the word on my first appointment, I should have resigned at once. My annoyance was not so much at losing Deal Castle as at having been betrayed into an appearance of desiring to retain it when there was a desire I should resign it. However, having used me ill he has since liked me ill—as was natural. It was obvious from his letters. However, I continued to show him the respect of writing to him; but for two years he has not answered my letters, and as I don't choose to take that from him any more than from anybody else, I have long ceased writing.”¹

It should be noted that in the bitter controversy between Sir Charles Napier and the Governor-General, to which there is allusion elsewhere in this letter, the Duke decided against Napier, his old subordinate and friend; but it does not appear that this broke off friendship, and Napier was one of his pall-bearers. It is quite probable that the Duke found it impossible, while the quarrel lasted, to carry on correspondence with the principals in it.

¹ *Private Letters of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, edited by S. G. A. Baird, p. 211.

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Dalhousie's letter of November 5 should also be quoted.

"The Duke's death came upon me more heavily than I could have believed. Although he did, under the intrigues of old Gosh, cast me out of Deal Castle and grew cool for shame of what he had done—for I know he said afterwards that he wished Deal Castle had been at the bottom of the sea—I loved the old man and retained real pride and gratitude in my mind for the confidence and friendship he long showed, and which I am certain he would have cordially continued to me *in public* to the end."¹

The Queen caused it to be conveyed through Sir George Couper that the Lord Wardenship was bestowed on Lord Dalhousie with her special approval: a letter from Lord Derby makes the circumstances clear.

"The intelligence of the Duke of Wellington's death reached me at Balmoral. . . . My first duty was to submit to Her Majesty the names of them who should succeed to the various offices held by the late Duke; and I had very great pleasure in advising Her Majesty that the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports should be offered to you if you think it worth your acceptance. Her Majesty not only cordially approved the advice but intimated to me that the appointment had already occurred to herself as to one most fitting to be made, which she thought I should probably recommend."

¹ Baird, p. 230.

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Lord Derby went on to note that "public report" had assigned the Wardenship to himself "on the ground that it has generally been taken by the First Lord of the Treasury for the time being", and added that, if it were necessary that the office should be temporarily filled for the discharge of any duties which cannot be performed by deputy, he himself "would assume it as a temporary appointment only and for the purpose of handing it over to you".

" You are of course aware ", he continued, " that a Committee of the House of Commons in 1835 recommended a revision of the system of licensing pilots and that some alterations would probably have been made affecting the office but for the strong objections which the Duke of Wellington felt to any change. . . . I need hardly say that any new appointment must be accepted subject to any alteration which Parliament may think fit to adopt.

" The emoluments of the office are small ; but it gives a residence, and as a mark of honour from the Crown is one which even a Governor-General of India may not disdain to accept."¹

Lord Derby clearly satisfied himself that all the duties remaining could be discharged by a deputy, since Parliament decided in 1853 to transfer the control of pilotage to the Trinity House.

Within a year, Lord Dalhousie, finding himself committed to a much longer stay in India than he had foreseen when he accepted, tendered his resigna-

¹ Baird, p. 433.

WALMER CASTLE IN 1853

From a lithograph after a drawing by F. Dillon



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tion ; but he was advised by Lord Aberdeen that the Queen desired him to continue.

On January 28, 1854, he wrote to Sir G. Couper :

“ I am sincerely distressed at the amount of trouble you have had about Walmer Castle. I hope to thank you on the battlements of the Castle for it again hereafter, if I live, and if I *am* to keep it, which I still very much deprecate. The fact is, I made a great mistake in ever accepting it at all. But I could not resist the honour, and I do not really think that anybody in the same circumstances would have had more sense than I confess I had on the occasion.”¹

Lord Dalhousie did not return to England till May 1856 ; he was much shaken in health and does not appear at any time to have visited Walmer Castle.

Sir W. Lee-Warner, his biographer, writes :

“ Soon after his return to England, it was decided to relieve the Lord Warden of most of his duties, as he had been already deprived of the salary . . . which had formerly appertained to the post. . . . In a letter dated April 9, 1857, Lord Dalhousie wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury :

“ ‘ The Wardenship is an office of great antiquity, having existed certainly from the reign of the Conqueror, or, as many prefer to believe, from the more distant times of the Confessor. The great political importance and the extensive authority

¹ Baird, p. 284.

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which once belonged to it have long since disappeared. Its emoluments have been from time to time withdrawn. Recent legislation has deprived it of its jurisdiction over the Cinque Ports Guilds and a Bill has lately been laid before Parliament which by transferring the control of Dover Harbour will strip the office of some more of the few rags of authority which it retains. . . . The Lord Warden will preserve only his Admiralty jurisdiction, with certain functions connected with salvage commissions. This jurisdiction, and the traditional dignity of the office, together with the right to the honour of a salute, will constitute the whole duties, authority and privileges that will be left to the Warden of the Cinque Ports.' '¹

He had, however, overlooked certain things. In July 1859 he received a circular letter from the War Office respecting Volunteer Corps. As Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he was also their Lord-Lieutenant and had certain functions to discharge in connection with their corps.

"I can't go to the Cinque Ports", he wrote to Sir George Couper. "I can't discharge the duties of a Lord-Lieutenant in this matter, still less lead and encourage the movement as the Government desire. Ought I not at once to make way for someone who can? . . ." ²

He found on enquiry that he could do all that was required of him and so was spared the regret of giving up "an honour which I prize".

¹ *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, vol. ii. p. 409.

² Baird, p. 42.

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There was also much vexatious correspondence between him and the War Office, who in 1857 asked that the “Castle Hill Farm”, an estate of some 250 acres at Dover, should be placed at their disposal for military purposes, as well as the quarters in the Castle occupied by Mr. Jenkinson, Lieutenant-Governor of Dover Castle, who had just died.

To this office Captain Watts was appointed. Various small posts, however, which had been under the Lord Warden's jurisdiction, were abolished; and finally the War Office demanded to resume possession of Deal Castle, as needed for the accommodation of troops. All these infringements of the scope of his office Lord Dalhousie resented and resisted; but he was for most of this period an invalid seeking health in Malta and harassed by the news of the Indian Mutiny. In 1860, Sir George Couper advised him to resign; but he decided to continue his tenure of office.

On December 19, 1860, he died at Dalhousie Castle.

When the long absentee tenure of Lord Dalhousie ended, the Government's first intention was to abolish the Lord Wardenship;¹ but a deputation from

¹ Lord Curzon transcribed from the correspondence with Captain Watts this return of Lord Dalhousie's receipts from the Cinque Ports—income tax being deducted—in June 1858.

Dover Castle	.	.	.	£50	9	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Archcliff Fort	.	.	.	13	2	0
Moats Bulwark	.	.	.	7	10	9
Sandgate Castle	.	.	.	44	4	3
Walmer	.	.	.	26	10	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Deal	.	.	.	6	16	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sandown Castle	.	.	.	13	19	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>						
				£162	13	6 $\frac{1}{4}$

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

the Cinque Ports, introduced by Lord Brabourne, waited on the Prime Minister,¹ urging him to keep alive so ancient an office ; and Lord Palmerston,² having yielded to their representations, decided not only to revert to the practice of attaching this dignity to that of the head of the Government, but to revive the old and quaint ceremony of installation.

The Prime Minister was obliged, however, having accepted “an office of profit under the Crown”, to vacate his seat and stand again for Tiverton, where he had to face his usual heckling from Rowcliffe, the local Radical butcher.³

A description of Lord Palmerston’s installation was published by Knocker, entitled an *Account of the Grand Court of Shepway*, from which this passage is taken (p. 53) :

“ Shortly after the demise of the late Lord Warden (Lord Dalhousie) it was rumoured it was possible a successor would not be appointed. Action was taken by the Corporation of Dover in consultation with the other ports.

“ The Cinque Ports have still their Court of Brotherhood and Guestling to take cognisance of matters affecting the ports generally. Their free barons glory in their ancient history, and are proud of the privilege which, belonging to them from time immemorial, was again conceded and exercised by them on the occasion of Your Majesty’s Coronation.”

¹ L. E. D. Black, *Life of Lord Dufferin*, p. 347.

² Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston.

³ Ashley, *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 206.



VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G.

From a drawing by George Richmond, R.A., belonging to the Earl of Carnwath

LATER LORDS WARDEN

Upon the appointment of Lord Palmerston :

“ It was submitted to his lordship that it had been the ancient usage and custom for the Lord Warden on receiving his appointment to take the serement or oath of office at a Court of Shepway holden for the purpose.”

Accordingly, the Lord Warden issued his precept as follows :

“ Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, Constable of the Castle of Dover, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, two Ancient Towns and their Members and one of Her Majesty’s Most Honourable Privy Council, etc. etc.

“ To all and singular the Mayors and Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, two Ancient Towns and Members of the said Cinque Ports and Towns and to every of them greeting.

“ For certain good causes and considerations me thereunto especially moving, I have thought it necessary to notify unto you by these presents that I am resolved to be at Bredenstone Hill within the liberty of the Town and Port of Dover, one of the Cinque Ports, upon the twenty-eighth day of August instant, by twelve o’clock at noon, then and there to hold a Grand Court of Shepway according to the ancient usages and custom of the said Cinque Ports, and then to take upon myself the duties of the said office.

“ Thereupon by virtue and authority of the said office, these are in Her Majesty’s name straitly to charge and command you and every of you to give

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

good summons and lawful warning unto six, five, or four of the best and most discreet of your Combarons of every of the said ports and towns and members corporate personally to be and appear before me at the time and place aforesaid. And that also you, the said Mayors, and Bailiffs, or your respective deputies, be likewise then and there personally present to do as to you hath been accustomed and belonged."

This precept was sent by the Seneschal to the Mayors of the Cinque Ports of Dover, Sandwich, Hastings, New Romney and Hythe, and of the two Ancient Towns of Rye and Winchelsea, and to the Mayors and Bailiffs of Seaford, Pevensey, Fordwich, Folkestone, Faversham, Lydd, Tenterden, Deal and Margate, being all the corporate towns within the liberties of the Cinque Ports.

The various corps of the Cinque Ports Volunteers, of which the Lord Warden is honorary colonel, assembled on the parade-ground adjoining Dover Castle and were duly inspected.

The delegates meanwhile assembled in the hall of the Lieutenant-Governor's apartments at the Castle, to elect a Speaker for the occasion.

Procession was then formed, the Volunteer Artillery heading it, followed by the governors and deputy-governors of the castles within the liberties of the Cinque Ports, the Mayors, Bailiffs and Combarons, all in their gowns and with Mace-bearers, the attendants of the Corporation of Dover in livery closing their advance. Then came the

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Sergeant of the Admiralty in his robes, bearing his silver oar, which is laid on the table in Courts of Admiralty, then the Proctor, Deputy Registrar, Judge of Chancery and Admiralty Courts, and the Surrogate of the Cinque Ports, Court of Admiralty, all in their robes.

Then came the Lord Warden, with officers and gentlemen attending on him with their servants ; and, in rear of all, the Cinque Ports Volunteer Rifle Corps.

At the Bredenstone three solemn proclamations were made by the Seneschal (Mr. Knocker) calling on those summoned to draw near and answer to their names and give attendance to the Court “ upon the peril that shall fall of it ”.

The precept of the Lord Warden was then read, and the returns from the various ports and towns having been read the Lord Warden was instructed that the Court was formed. Hereupon, the Lord Warden’s patent of appointment was read, and the Judge of the Court of Admiralty delivered an address of congratulations.

To this the Lord Warden made suitable reply, justifying the changes which had contracted his official powers.

“ Without destroying these venerable institutions of the Cinque Ports, we have removed from them functions which might be better exercised by other parts of the Constitution.”

On the conclusion of this speech, proclamation was made :

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

“ All Mayors, Bailiffs, Barons and others that have had to do at this Court of Shepway before my Lord Warden this day, you shall depart and take your Ease unto a new warning.”

As Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Palmerston did little. No alterations were made at Walmer Castle, over which still presided Mrs. Allen, who had been housekeeper from the time of the Duke of Wellington, and who continued to amass a modest fortune from gratuities. Lord Palmerston occasionally visited the Castle.

Under his jurisdiction the demolition of Sandown Castle began, the building being thought unsafe. The materials of the structure were sold for £500.

In 1863 the Prime Minister, having been elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, went there to deliver his inaugural address, and while there took steamer on the Clyde to Greenock. The Captain of the guardship on the Clyde was embarrassed, since the office of Prime Minister is not legally recognised, and no salute is prescribed by naval etiquette. But, happily remembering that Lord Palmerston was also Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he gave the Lord Warden the salute to which he was entitled, of nineteen guns.

“ Upon the death of Lord Palmerston in 1865, Lord J. Russell gave the Cinque Ports to Lord Granville.”¹ There was no salary, but the appointment was the occasion for a gibe by the *Saturday*

¹ Granville George Leveson-Gower, second Earl of Granville, born 1815 ; died 1891.



EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., LORD WARDEN, 1865-91.

From an engraving by T. L. Atkinson after a portrait by George Richmond, R.A.

LATER LORDS WARDEN

Review on “ jobbery and nepotism ”. It was suggested elsewhere that Lord J. Russell made the appointment to put an end to Lord Granville’s eternal abortive search for a house near London.¹

At all events Walmer Castle became the home of this delightful person till his death in 1891. Perhaps no other Lord Warden was ever so completely domesticated there.

“ Lord Granville built new stables and kennels and kept a pack of harriers. He planted the grounds and transferred the stones of Sandown Castle with which he erected a new tower. He purchased also the old Semaphore Station and there built the ‘ Villa Vita ’, named after his daughter.”²

Baron Malortie, traveller, politician and soldier of fortune, has left a description of life at Walmer.

“ To see Lord Granville riding with his wife and children or to see them together at play or at meals was a treat to fortunate outsiders.

“ I shall never forget the homely cheerful look of the drawing-room when after breakfast guests and family, old and young used to congregate, each following their moment’s inclination, Lord Granville as a rule selecting this moment for the despatch of official duties ; he was Foreign Secretary at the time I am referring to. Dozens of red leather despatch boxes, with their respective paper labels, were piled up next to the writing table—indeed, there was only one for both Lord and Lady Granville,

¹ Lord E. Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Granville*, ii. 488.

² *Ibid.*

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

for the space in this, the only well-sized room, was as limited as the number of apartments available for the family and guests.

“ This truly homely, almost patriarchal family scene was further enlivened by the arrival of the G.O.M. who came over with Mrs. Gladstone and Lord and Lady Sydney, whose guest he was at Deal ; and the reason of the visit was that Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, wanted to try a merry-go-round at the fair, to be held in Walmer that afternoon.

“ The party diverted Mr. Gladstone from this intention by assuring him that the Opposition papers would make fun of it, but he visited everything from the giant woman to the calf with eight legs.”¹

Another visitor at this hospitable house was J. R. Lowell, then America’s Ambassador, to whom Lord Granville wrote asking if “ the most engaged man in England ” would come to them. Before he left Walmer, Lowell wrote in the Visitors’ Book (on December 24, 1881) :

The most engaged man he calls *me*,
A kind of Mormon fate presaging ;
I with more verity call *he*
Of all the most engaging.

One of the notable events in Lord Granville’s tenure happened in 1889 when a fox, closely followed by hounds, entered the Castle gardens, dashed into the house by the bridge main staircase, and was

¹ Fitzmaurice, ii. 491.



WALMER CASTLE FROM THE BEACH

Lord Granville's addition on right

LATER LORDS WARDEN

killed by the pack just at the folding baize door outside the Duke's room. Lord and Lady Granville were just about to pass through the door to the stairs, when they heard the din. "In spite of open doors and windows, we suffered for some time", Lady Granville wrote, "from a very strong souvenir of the visitation."

Lord Granville was never formally installed. The ceremony was fixed for May 22, 1886, and the usual Precepts were issued; but Lord Granville wrote at the end of April asking for a postponement because of the sudden death of his brother-in-law and sister, Lord and Lady Rivers.

A court of Brotherhood and Guestling was, however, held at New Romney on May 30 of that year, when a letter was read from the Lord Warden acknowledging the resolutions passed by the several Ports.

On the death of Lord Granville in 1891, the then Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, appointed the Rt. Hon. W. H. Smith, leader of the House of Commons, to the Lord Wardenship—the only Commoner except Mr. Pitt who ever held this office.

Mr. Smith, who was in failing health, came down to the house to spend the summer and began to make structural repairs: Lord Curzon notes that he restored telegraphic communication and put in electric bells; but the House of Commons work in those years was formidable, and in August he came back from London to Walmer and died there on October 7.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

His telescope and its stand were left, and remain as memorials of him.

So little was known of the post that Mr. Smith after his appointment came into the House of Commons and took his usual seat on the Treasury Bench ; but the Speaker sent for him and informed him that he had no right to sit, having vacated his seat by accepting an office of profit under the Crown. The profit was what “Toby M.P.” called “tribute of rusty armchair and frayed cordage” ; but Mr. Smith had to disappear. A fortnight happily sufficed, his seat being of the safest.

The special interest attaching to his brief tenure of the office arose from the fact that he alone of Lords Warden exercised the right to fly his flag.

A memorandum on the limits of this right was written for Lord Curzon by Mr. J. L. Pattison, who had been Mr. Smith’s private secretary.

THE LORD WARDEN’S FLAG AND THE LORD WARDEN’S RIGHT TO SALUTES

“The Lord Warden has a flag of his own, the heraldic description of which is : Three lions dimidiated with the sterns of ships.

“But as it has been the constant practice, at least since Mr. Pitt succeeded to the post, to fly the Union Jack at Walmer Castle when the Lord Warden is in residence there, it follows in effect that the Lord Warden only flies his own flag when



THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, LORD WARDEN

From an engraving belonging to Viscount Hambleden

LATER LORDS WARDEN

at sea. Apparently the Union Jack is flown at Walmer because the Castle is still a Royal Castle.

“ Mr. W. H. Smith was, so far as I can learn, the only Lord Warden of recent times who kept a yacht in Cinque Ports waters, and therefore hoisted his flag at sea, and it is doubtful whether Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Palmerston or Lord Granville ever had in their possession a Lord Warden’s Flag.

“ During Mr. Smith’s short cruises from Walmer in his yacht *Pandora*, I was always on board with him, and I can testify to the great curiosity the Lord Warden’s Flag evoked in the Channel both among Naval and Mercantile Officers of passing vessels. It was at first absolutely unknown, nor was it depicted in any ordinary signal book ; once, I think, we were asked by signal who we were with the strange flag. It was in the Admiralty Flag Book and in the Book entitled *The Flags of all Nations*.

“ Mr. Smith had been informed that the flag should properly be flown from the foremast of his yacht, but the first time this happened it was taken for a signal to Dover for a Pilot (the ensign at the fore being a Pilot signal), and we narrowly avoided running down a boat and man who persisted in getting in our way, before a volume of strong language revealed the fact which our Captain had not suspected, that he was a Pilot trying to board the yacht in answer to the signal.

“ After this the Flag was flown from the Main. Gradually, vessels learnt to know it, and often cordially dipped in salute.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

“The Lord Warden is entitled to a salute of nineteen guns from Forts (which are saluting forts) within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports. But not from H.M. Ships. The saluting has of late years been confined to ceremonial occasions.

“The Lord Warden is not entitled to salutes from H.M. Ships.

“Mr. Smith, on account of illness, was never formally installed, and I think I am right in stating that though a formal salute was offered when he arrived privately at Walmer it was declined; and the only salute fired in his honour was at the time of his funeral, when Dover Castle fired nineteen minute guns as the funeral left Walmer Station for Henley and passed through Dover.

“In spite of the Admiralty Regulations forbidding H.M. Ships to salute the Lord Warden, it is stated (I think in Lord Granville’s *Memoirs*) that once when the Fleet was in the Downs, Lord Granville, as Lord Warden, paid a ceremonial visit to the Admiral in command, taking with him Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, who happened to be his guest at Walmer Castle. The Lord Warden was received with a gun salute from the Ship or Fleet, but Mr. Gladstone unsuspectingly took the salute to himself.”

Mr. Smith’s successor was the Marquis of Dufferin, then British Ambassador in Paris: and at his accession the ceremony of installation was



THE MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

From the portrait painted by Henrietta Rac in 1901

LATER LORDS WARDEN

revived which had not been seen since Lord Palmerston's day in 1861.

The Court of Shepway then consisted of Dover, to which were attached Folkestone, Faversham and Margate as limbs ; Sandwich, with Deal and (since 1861) Ramsgate ; New Romney with Lydd, Hastings and Hythe. The jurisdiction of the Lord Warden also extended over Rye (to which is attached Tenterden) and Winchelsea. Pevensey had ceased to be incorporated since 1861.

Lord Dufferin, wearing the Lord Warden's uniform, with an Admiral's sword and cocked hat, drove with his party to the Castle of Dover, where the delegates of the various towns met him, the Mayor of Hastings acting as their spokesman. The assemblage was in the large banqueting hall, a Norman structure, against whose stone walls the robes of the Combarons showed brightly.¹

In procession then the Court marched to the old church of St. Mary in the Castle, where the Bishop of Dover conducted a special service : at the close of which the procession re-formed and passed up the steep ascent to the Bredenstone, whither the Court of Shepway had been summoned by precept, and the precept was duly made by the Seneschal Mr. (later, Sir) E. Wollaston-Knocker. Lord Dufferin then announced his appointment to the office of Lord Warden, and the Mayor of Hastings, as Speaker of the Court, requested him to take it up. On Lord Dufferin's formally uttered consent, the Court made reverence, and the fort's battery fired

¹ Black, *Life of Dufferin*, p. 34.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

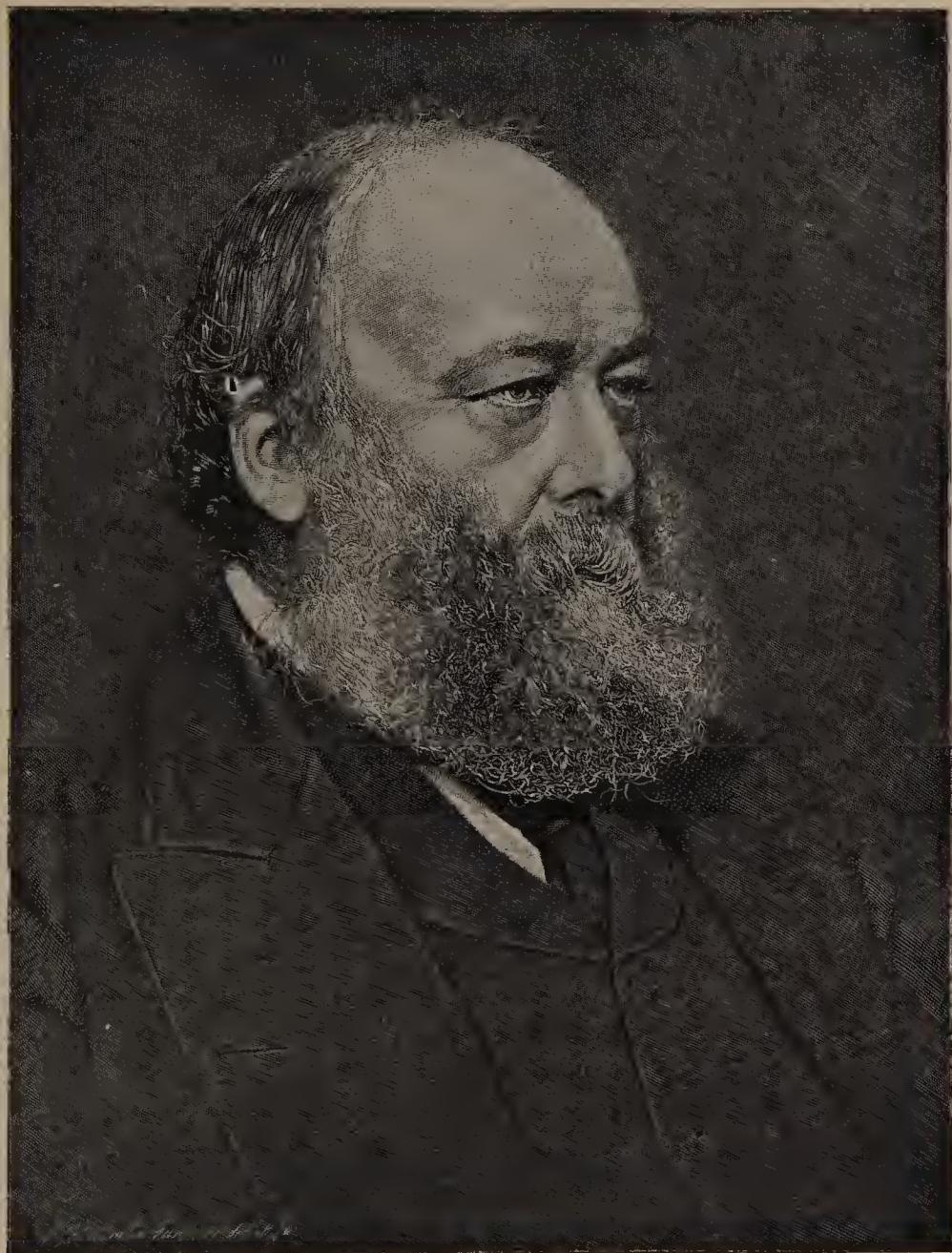
a salute of nineteen guns. A banquet in the Town Hall that evening finished the ceremony and evoked much skilful eloquence from the new Lord Warden.¹ Lord Dufferin then took up his abode at Walmer.

“When I came to the Castle”, he wrote, “I thought a good deal about poor Lord Granville on entering this home, which was long his home.” According to Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, the place was never home to Lord Dufferin. “At Walmer I stayed with him twice, I think, and merely for a few days. It seemed to me that he was never very much attached to the place, and that he preferred Clandeboye which he had in a sense created. During his occupancy of Walmer, no one was put into the old Duke’s room, but once, when a number of friends had been invited for the ceremony of his installation, an exception was made in my favour, and in the middle of the night I was disturbed by curious sounds which suggested to my sleepy mind that the shade of the departed did not approve of my presence in the sacred chamber. At last I struck a light and solved the mystery. A thunderstorm was going on and the rain was coming down in torrents on the roof, while at the foot of my bed a little cascade was falling from the ceiling on to a cane-bottomed chair.”²

After three years’ occupancy of Walmer, Lord Dufferin, retiring from all public offices to settle at Clandeboye, resigned the Wardenship.

¹ *Life of Dufferin*, by Sir A. Lyall, vol. ii. p. 261.

² Private letter to Lord Curzon, September 2, 1904.



THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G.

From a wood engraving by W. Biscombe Gardner after a photograph
by Russell and Sons

LATER LORDS WARDEN

One trait of him should be noted. After his installation and the banquet he went back for a week to Paris, and then, returning to Dover, made his way to Walmer, not by coach nor on horseback, but sailing his famous little boat.

Upon Lord Dufferin's resignation, Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, himself assumed the vacant office, and on August 15, 1896, the ceremony of installation took place: the Court of Shepway being held on this occasion in the College Close at Dover.

After this compliance with ancient custom, Lord Salisbury does not appear to have interested himself in his duties or privileges as Lord Warden—despite the many associations which linked him to Walmer Castle. A letter from Lady Westmorland's daughter, Lady Rose Weigall, to Mr. J. L. Pattison suggests that the Prime Minister's recollections of childhood were not happy.

“ My mother used in later years often to speak of Lord Salisbury having in those days been such an apparently *stupid* child that his mother used to say that she wondered if Bobby would *ever* learn anything! and he used to be bothered by his sisters in a way that called forth the Duke's compassion, especially in the way they used to pinch him and slap him to keep him *awake* in Church! till the Duke told them if they tormented him so the poor child would never go near a church as long as he lived when he grew up.”

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

After the death of Lord Salisbury the Lord Wardenship was offered in March 1905 to Lord Curzon, then returned from his office as Governor-General of India. He was installed with due ceremony in the College Close at Dover on July 2, 1905; and this book is a testimony to the zeal with which he applied himself to the study of all that concerned his new post and duties.

Unhappily, however, Lady Curzon's health was delicate: she fell dangerously ill, and her illness was attributed by Lord Curzon to defects in the dwelling. She was moved into an adjoining house in Walmer, but died there: and Lord Curzon's resignation, already proffered, was made final in November 1905.

After this disastrous tenancy King Edward decided that it would be better to change the character of the Castle and make it a national museum, without thought of a resident Lord Warden: and on this basis the Prince of Wales was appointed to fill the office. This, however, the Prince undertook on the understanding that the duties in connection with Dover Harbour were transferred to the Deputy Chairman, and that he should not be required to go through the ceremony of installation.

The people of the Cinque Ports, however, being unaware that this condition had been made, pressed that the Prince should be virtually installed; and the end was that in 1907 he resigned.

LATER LORDS WARDEN

The next Lord Warden was Thomas Lord Brassey, installed on June 25, 1908, who held the office till 1913, when he resigned.

"I felt the growing infirmities of old age. Arthritis—not in a painful form—made me very lame," he wrote to Lord Curzon, on November 11, 1914, on board the *Sunbeam*, then lying in the Seine. "It is not well to have a disabled Lord Warden. . . .

". . . When I became a resident at Walmer I thought, perhaps wrongly, that more was expected of me than I was able to do. I can no longer follow the hounds. My golf is that of a player who hobbles about on one leg and two sticks."

During the period while he was non-resident he made visits to Dover and others of the Cinque Ports a few times a year to encourage good endeavours.

"I am a friendly old fellow", he wrote. "I make myself happy with people. I had a real regard for the Cinque Ports people and hope it was mutual.

"Only three days ago I saw a regiment recently from Dover parade in camp at Havre. I briefly addressed them. 'Soldiers, your country is proud of you. Your country is grateful to you. Go where glory awaits you.' They gave me three ringing cheers, remembering me as their old Lord Warden. I was touched, and so were they.

"During my time there were occasional opportunities of showing regard for the naval service.

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

When the squadron under Prince Louis of Battenberg was styled the North Atlantic Squadron, and Dover was made the base, I thought it was fitting to pay an official visit. I communicated with Prince Louis, and he named a day for the visit. It was a red-letter day for the ancient office of Lord Warden.

"When I appeared on the pier, nineteen guns were fired from Dover Castle, Prince Louis's launch took me on board, with the Lord Warden's flag at the bar. I was received by Prince Louis and all his Captains in full uniform—guard mounted, band playing.

"After an official luncheon, on leaving in the launch to go round the Fleet, nineteen guns were fired from the flag-ship. As I passed each ship, guard was mounted, officers in full uniform saluted. Bands played. I appreciated the compliment very much, not only as a thing done in honour of the Lord Warden, but as a proof that the labours of a lifetime in relation to naval matters were not forgotten."

Lord Brassey flew the Lord Warden's flag on the Castle and (according to Lady Brassey) "no question was raised". At sea Lord Brassey writes (November 30, 1914):

"I carried the Lord Warden's flag to Newfoundland and up the St. Lawrence to Quebec. I did not meet a man-of-war. If we had met, I should certainly not have expected a salute of nineteen guns. At Dover it was settled that the salute should be fired once a year. It was not easy



EARL BEAUCHAMP, K.G., LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, 1913

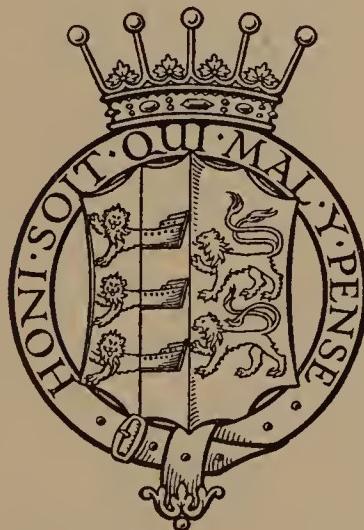
From an etching from the life by William Strang, R.A.

LATER LORDS WARDEN

to make a muster of important people for the ceremony."

On the resignation of Lord Brassey, Mr. Asquith offered the post to Lord Beauchamp, then First Commissioner of Works, who accepted it, and was installed on July 18, 1914. Lord Beauchamp reverted to ancient practice and issued a precept calling the Grand Court of Shepway to assemble at the Bredenstone.

The official account of the proceedings is appended as a close to this historical review.



ARMS OF EARL BEAUCHAMP AS LORD WARDEN

APPENDIX I

INSTALLATION of The Right Honourable THE EARL BEAUCHAMP, K.G., K.C.M.G., P.C., etc., etc., as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, at Dover, July 18, 1914.

ON Saturday, the 18th July, 1914, the Right Honourable the Earl Beauchamp, K.G., was duly installed at Dover in accordance with the ancient ceremonies into the historic office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. The ceremonial was picturesque in every detail and attracted large numbers of visitors to Dover, who were delighted with the pageantry of the occasion. Brilliant sunshine, gaily decorated streets, a fleet of warships in the harbour dressed rainbow fashion, troop-lined streets, military bands at various points, combined, with the brightly uniformed procession of the Lord Warden with his "Barons and Combarons", to make a memorable day for the thousands of spectators.

THE ASSEMBLY AT THE CASTLE

Before ten o'clock the officials were wending their way up the steep Castle hill. Mace-bearers, carrying the regalia of their ports, Mayors, Aldermen, Town Clerks, and Councillors were making their way to the Robing-Chamber in the Keep. Inside the Keep there was a quaint mixture of mediævalism and modernity. The grey old walls, ornamented with the armour and weapons of long-forgotten men of the Cinque Ports, looked down upon the assemblage. Gorgeously clad Coronation Barons were notable in scarlet cloaks, trimmed with blue and gold, with the arms of the Cinque Ports embroidered on the shoulder, black knee-breeches and hose, and white satin

WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

embroidered waistcoats. Red- and black-robed civic dignitaries moved in and out of the throng, while frock-coated Councillors looked strangely out of place in such unusual surroundings. The Custodian of the Keep had thoughtfully relieved the cold grey cheerlessness of the walls in the Robing-Room with flags and bunting.

At half-past ten the Mayors and representatives of the fourteen municipalities—Cinque Ports, Ancient Towns, and Limbs—gathered in the Royal Banqueting Hall in the Keep for a preliminary meeting to elect one of their number to request the new Lord Warden at the Court of Shepway to take upon himself the duties of his office. In accordance with ancient custom the choice of the assembly fell upon the Speaker—the Mayor of the Ancient Town of Winchelsea (Mr. G. M. Freeman, K.C.).

In the Keep Yard, immediately after the meeting, the picturesquely clad Seneschal called the Roll and formed up the procession, which slowly proceeded to the venerable pile of St. Mary-in-the-Castle. The black-robed Mayor of Sandwich was a conspicuous figure in the gathering, and carried a thin black rod. This dress and wand are stated to be a token of mourning for the terrible slaughter of the men of the Cinque Ports by the invading Danes, off Bloody Point, in 840 A.D.

Suddenly a musical flourish of trumpets rang out from the entrance to the Keep Yard. Troops stood at the salute, hats were raised, and through that archway of the Constable's Tower,

Whose pond'rous grate and massy bar
Hath oft rolled back the tide of war,

glided a motor-car containing the Earl Beauchamp, the new Lord Warden. Swiftly it ascended the slope to the Castle Yard, pulled up sharply on one side, and out stepped the hero of the hour—a fine-looking figure in the full-dress uniform of the Lord Warden of the Ports—wearing the blue riband of the Garter, the stars and emblems of many Orders glittering on his breast. A few formal greetings, and the Lord Warden, with Countess Beauchamp and their son, Viscount Elmley, proceeded to the Church.

APPENDIX I

The service, which was short and of the simplest character, was conducted by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Dover (Chaplain of the Cinque Ports), and the Rev. W. C. Haines (Senior Chaplain to the Forces). The service opened with the special Exhortation, 1 Timothy ii. 1-3, "that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks, be made for all men ; for kings and for all that are in authority," and included the Deus Misereatur, a Lesson (Ecclesiasticus xi., iv. 1-15), the Old Hundredth, and Collects for the Navy and for the Lord Warden. At the close the Archbishop solemnly pronounced the Benediction.

Amongst those in Church were the Earl of Rosebery, the Dowager-Duchess of Westminster, Mrs. Randall Davidson, Viscount and Viscountess Duncannon, Sir A. N. Wollaston, K.C.I.E., J.P., Lady Seymour, Lord and Lady George Hamilton, the Dean of Canterbury and Mrs. Wace, Lord and Lady Northbourne, Sir F. Pollock, Bt., and Lady Pollock, Gen., Mrs., and Miss Wilson, Com. Ballard, C.B., A.D.C., R.N., Col. and Mrs. Nugent, Lieut.-Col. Liddell, Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Roberts, Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Dykes, Major Griffin, Mrs. Marke Wood, Mr. R. A. McCall, K.C., J.P., the Rev. C. P. Dale, Commander and Mrs. Bevan, M. Corbes, the French Consul, and Madame Corbes, Mrs. Haines, Col. and Mrs. Crampton, Commander and Mrs. Simms, Capt. and Mrs. Davies, Mrs. R. E. Knocker, Mr. R. Grant, J.P., Capt. G. C. Higgins, R.N., J.P., Mr. Longworth Knocker, Mr. T. B. Harby, the Rev. and Mrs. F. de W. Lushington, Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Raggett, the Mayoress of Faversham, Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Hancox, the Mayoress of Hastings, Lieut.-Col. Langham, Capt. A. A. M. Wilson, the Deputy of Brightlingsea, the Mayors and representatives of the various Cinque Ports, etc.

THE PROCESSION

After the service the Procession was formed on the Parade Ground and left the Castle by way of the Constable's Gate for the Drop Redoubt on the Western Heights (or Bredenstone Hill as it was formerly called) for the meeting of the Grand Court of Shepway.

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The town was gaily bedecked and everything was looking its best in the glorious sunshine. Scarlet uniformed soldiers were lining the streets, while the sides of Castle Hill were lined with the red-coated Duke of York's School-boys. On every available point on the route of the procession crowds of sight-seers had collected. The Market Square was packed, as also were the sides of Castle Street, Cannon Street, and Biggin Street, while hundreds (including a large number of children from the Elementary schools) had assembled on the slopes above Military Hill. Bands were stationed at Eastbrook Place, Market Square, Worthington Street, Town Hall, and Drop Redoubt, while the troops guarding the streets were drawn from the Royal Garrison Artillery, the 1st King's Own Regiment, the 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers, and the 2nd Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.

The fine mounted Band of the 3rd King's Own Hussars headed the procession on the way through Dover. Then came a long string of carriages containing the Mayors and representatives of the Cinque Ports and Limbs, preceded by their respective mace-bearers and officers. The Coronation Barons made a picturesque group. General Wilson and his staff immediately preceded the Lord Warden, who, escorted by the Royal East Kent Mounted Rifles, drove in his own carriage with Countess Beauchamp and Viscount Elmley, with two footmen in livery of cream and scarlet, on the box.

The official Order of Procession was as follows :

Band of the 3rd (King's Own) Hussars.

MEMBERS OF COURT OF SHEPWAY.

The Mayors of the Cinque Ports, accompanied by their Recorders, Town Clerks, Chaplains, and Clerks of the Peace with their Barons and Returned Men, preceded by their respective Mace-bearers and Officers.

Ramsgate.

Margate.

Tenterden.

Deal.

Folkestone.

Faversham.

Lydd.

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Rye.

Winchelsea.

Hythe.

New Romney.

Dover.

Sandwich.

Hastings.

The Barons who attended the Coronations of King Edward VII. and King George V. in their Robes.

The Registrar of the Ports.

The Chaplain of the Ports.

The Sergeant of Admiralty bearing Silver Oar.

The Surrogate of the Admiralty Court.

The Judge of the Admiralty Court.

The General Officer Commanding Troops Dover and Staff.

THE LORD WARDEN,

With an Escort of the Royal East Kent Mounted Rifles.

Noblemen and Gentlemen attending on the Lord Warden.

Such of the Barons of the Cinque Ports as be there.

The Lord Warden was given a very hearty reception as he passed through the town, while the Borough Member and Lady Duncannon, who were in the procession, were also cordially cheered.

AT THE BREDENSTONE

The ceremony of Installing the Lord Warden at the Bredenstone on the Western Heights had fallen into desuetude since 1892, when the Marquis of Dufferin took upon himself the duties of the office. The Courts of Shepway at which succeeding Lords Warden have been installed were held in the ancient S. Martin's Priory grounds (now Dover College Close), and here the undertaking, which replaced the ancient "serement" or oath, was given by the Marquess of Salisbury, Earl Curzon, and Earl Brassey. His Majesty King George V., who held the office of Lord Warden for a time whilst he was Prince of Wales, and the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, never went through the Installation ceremony. Additional interest therefore was lent to the present Installation as a result of the return to the old site at the Bredenstone, which had been used for such ceremonies since

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the days of the Restoration, the scene of these Courts of Shepway in earlier days having been Shepway Cross, near Lympne.

A large marquee with annexes for the accommodation of the Court and the public, had been erected in close proximity to the Bredenstone—which is situated in the Drop Redoubt. At this point a guard of honour with colours and band had been mounted by the 5th (Cinque Ports) Royal Sussex Regiment from Hastings, under Capt. T. B. Hornblower, and saluted on the arrival of the Lord Warden, who proceeded to inspect it.

The scene in the Court was an exceedingly picturesque one. On either side of the Lord Warden were seated the Mayors of the fourteen Ports and Towns represented, whilst a number of distinguished people, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Rosebery, the Dean of Canterbury, Lord George Hamilton (Captain of Deal Castle), Viscount Duncannon, M.P., Lord Northbourne, Commodore Ballard, C.B., R.N. (Admiral of Patrols), and others, were also seated in proximity to the Lord Warden. The Court was in the form of an open square, the representative “Barons and Combarons”—many of them in their gorgeous uniforms as Coronation Barons—being seated in long rows at right angles to the position occupied by the Lord Warden and Mayors. In the centre were tables on which the maces and other emblems of office from the various ports and towns were massed, many of these being of great historical interest. At another table facing the Lord Warden was Mr. R. E. Knocker, the Seneschal of the Court, whilst seated just beneath the Lord Warden were the Bishop of Dover (Chaplain of the Cinque Ports), Sir Frederick Pollock, Baronet (Judge of the Cinque Ports Court of Admiralty), Mr. Travers B. Harby (Surrogate), and Brig.-Gen. H. F. M. Wilson, C.B. (Commanding Troops, Dover). The large assemblage of spectators evinced the keenest interest in the proceedings so reminiscent of the olden days.

First of all the Seneschal made the following Proclamation of the King’s Court of Shepway :

“OYEZ! OYEZ! OYEZ!

“All Mayors, Bailiffs, and Barons of the Five Ports and their members that be summoned and warned to appear in their



THE COURT OF BROTHERHOOD AND GUESTLING HELD BY GEORGE CHRISTOPHER SOLLEY, ESQ., SPEAKER AND MAYOR OF SANDWICH, ON MAY 19, 1920, ATTENDED BY EARL BEAUCHAMP, K.G., THE MAYORS OF THE CINQUE PORTS, AND OFFICERS OF THE LORD WARDEN

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proper persons before my Lord Warden at this the King's Majesty's Court of Shepway, here to be holden this day ; draw ye near and answer to your names as ye shall be called, and give your attendance to the Court, upon the peril that shall fall of it."

The Seneschal then read the quaintly worded Precept of the Lord Warden summoning the Court, as follows :

" WILLIAM EARL BEAUCHAMP, Viscount Elmley and Baron Beauchamp of Powyke, in the County of Worcester, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, two Antient Towns, and their Members, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Commander of the most Distinguished Order of S. Michael and S. George, Knight of Grace of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem, First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings, Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Gloucester and for the City of Bristol, Doctor of Laws :

" To All and Singular the Mayors and Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, two Antient Towns, and Members of the said Cinque Ports and Towns, and to every one of them,
GREETING.

" For certain good causes and considerations me thereunto especially moving, I have thought it necessary to notify unto you by these presents, that I propose, and am resolved by God's Grace to be at His Majesty's Castle of Dover, within the Liberty of the Town and Port of Dover, one of the Cinque Ports, upon Saturday, the 18th day of July next, by Eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and thence to proceed to Bredenstone Hill, within the Liberty aforesaid, then and there to hold a Grand Court of Shepway according to the antient usage and custom of the said Cinque Ports, and there to take upon myself the duties of the said office.

" Thereupon, by virtue and authority of my said office, these are in His Majesty's name straitly to charge and command you, and every of you, to give good summons and lawful warning unto six, five, or four of the best and most discreet of your Combarons of every of the said Ports, Towns and Members Corporate, personally to be and appear before me at the place

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and time aforesaid. And that also you, the said Mayors and Bailiffs, or your respective deputies, be likewise then and there personally present to do as to you hath been accustomed and belongeth. And that you do then and there certify to me under your hands and seals of incorporation what you shall have done in the accomplishment of the premises. Certifying me also, then and there, the names of all those persons whom you shall so have summoned and warned as aforesaid, and therewith returning back unto me, then and there, this Mandate, whereof you may not fail.

“ Dated at His Majesty’s Castle of Walmer under the Seal of my Office, the fifteenth day of June in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George V., by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, Anno Domini 1914.

“ BEAUCHAMP.”

SEAL

The Mayors were then called upon to hand in their respective Returns to the Precept. That of Hastings was in the following terms :

“ To all to whom these presents shall or may appertain and especially the Right Honourable William Earl Beauchamp, Viscount Elmley and Baron Beauchamp of Powyke in the County of Worcester, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, two Antient Towns and their Members, one of His Majesty’s Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings, Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the County of Gloucester and for the City of Bristol, Doctor of Laws.

“ We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Hastings, in the County of Sussex, with all due reverence send greeting.

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“ May it please your good Lordship to be advertised that we have nominated, elected, appointed, and chosen our well-beloved Combarons, Edward Armitage Hocking, J.P., now Mayor and Councillor of the Borough of Hastings aforesaid, George Hutchings, J.P., Deputy Mayor and Alderman of the same Borough, Christopher Henry Ball, an Alderman of the same Borough, and John Noble Collins, William James Fellows, William Frederick Warner, and Arthur Blackman, Councillors of the same Borough, personally to be and appear before your Lordship at His Majesty’s Castle of Dover, within the Liberty of the Town and Port of Dover, one of the Cinque Ports, upon Saturday, the Eighteenth day of July now instant at Eleven o’clock in the forenoon of that day, and thence to proceed to Bredenstone Hill, within the Liberty aforesaid, and at the Grand Court of Shepway to be then holden at the said Bredenstone Hill, to do such service as to us appertaineth to be done by the antient usages and customs of the said Cinque Ports and their members at the first entry of the Lord Warden of the said Cinque Ports into his said Office according to your Lordship’s commandment and pleasure contained in your letters of summons therein of late to us among others made known bearing date the fifteenth day of June last past wherein we do hereby ratify, confirm, and allow all and whatsoever the said Edward Armitage Hocking, George Hutchings, Christopher Henry Ball, John Noble Collins, William James Fellows, William Frederick Warner, and Arthur Blackman, or the most part of them shall do or consent to be done in the premises. In witness whereof we have hereunto caused the Corporate Seal of the Town and Port of Hastings to these presents to be affixed. Dated the third day of July in the fifth year of the reign of Our Sovereign Lord George V., by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of all the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, Anno Domini One Thousand nine hundred and fourteen.

“ E. ARMITAGE HOCKING,
Mayor.
“ BEN. F. MEADOWS,
Town Clerk.”

SEAL

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This return alone was read, the others being similar in form. The names included in each were, however, called over and the following answered :

HASTINGS.

The Mayor (Cr. Edward Armitage Hocking), the Deputy Mayor (Ald. George Hutchings), Ald. Christopher Henry Ball, Cr. John Noble Collins, Cr. Wm. James Fellows, Cr. Wm. Frederick Warner, Cr. Arthur Blackman, the Town Clerk (Mr. Ben. F. Meadows).

SANDWICH.

The Mayor (Ald. Wm. James Hughes), Ald. C. Watson (Coronation Baron), Ald. Herbert Hicks, Cr. George Christopher Solley, Cr. George Frederick Vye, Cr. Harry Stuart Watts, the Town Clerk (Mr. Edward Cotton Byrne).

DOVER.

The Mayor (Cr. Edwin Wood Thorpe Farley), Ald. Francis Wm. Prescott, Cr. Wm. James Barnes, Cr. Sir Augustus Montague Bradley, Cr. Edward Chitty, Cr. Frederick Wm. Smith Stone, the Town Clerk (Mr. Reginald Edward Knocker, Coronation Baron).

NEW ROMNEY.

The Mayor (Cr. F. W. Maude, Coronation Baron), the Deputy Mayor (Ald. Richard Pearson), Ald. Alfred Henry Smith, Cr. David Carey, Cr. Edward Aspin, the Town Clerk (Mr. Walter Lamacraft).

HYTHE.

The Mayor (Cr. James George White), Ald. D. J. West, Cr. F. W. Butler (Coronation Baron), Cr. J. J. Jeal, Cr. C. Straughan, the Town Clerk (Mr. Bernard C. Drake).

WINCHELSEA.

The Mayor (Mr. G. M. Freeman, K.C., Coronation Baron), Jurat John R. Skinner, Jurat Alfred Osman.

RYE.

The Mayor (Cr. Wm. Edwin Colebrooke), Ald. John Neve Masters, Ald. Henry John Gasson, Cr. A. Truelove, Cr. G. F. Burnham, Cr. Thomas S. Golden, Cr. J. L. Deane, the Assistant Town Clerk (Mr. Edwin Plomley Dawes).

LYDD.

The Mayor (Ald. E. Finn, Coronation Baron), the Deputy Mayor (Ald. Arthur Finn), Cr. Harold Finn, Cr. E. Stuart Finn, Cr. Thomas Wm. Paine.

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FAVERSHAM.

The Mayor (Ald. S. R. Alexander, M.D., Coronation Baron), Cr. W. J. Jackson, Cr. Alick P. Neame, the Town Clerk (Mr. Guy Tassell).

FOLKESTONE.

The Mayor (Ald. Stephen Penfold), Ald. George Spurgeon, Cr. Henry Russell Martingell, Cr. Walter Wingfield Nuttall, Cr. Charles Constant Wampach, the Town Clerk (Mr. Arthur Frederick Kidson).

DEAL.

The Mayor (Cr. Charles Hussey), Ald. Frederick Herbert John Hayward, Ald. Wm. Henry Redsull, Cr. Arthur Wm. Lambert, Cr. Sidney Pittock, the Town Clerk (Mr. Alfred Charles Brown).

TENTERDEN.

The Mayor (Ald. Edgar Howard, Coronation Baron), Ald. Jabez Chacksfield, Cr. Frederick Edwards, Cr. Harry Judge, the Town Clerk (Mr. J. Munn Mace).

MARGATE.

The Mayor (Cr. W. B. Reeve, Coronation Baron), Ald. Alonzo Bilham Pilcher, Ald. Wm. Henry White, J.P., Cr. Albert Leon Adutt, J.P., Cr. Sidney Shea, the Town Clerk (Mr. Edward Brooke).

RAMSGATE.

The Mayor (Cr. George Gilbert Cook), Ald. Charles John Gwyn, J.P., Ald. Wm. Coleman, Cr. John Walter Chapman, Cr. Henry Thomas Hollands, the Town Clerk (Mr. Arthur Blasdale Clarke).

In some cases the representatives were accompanied by the Recorder or Mayor's Chaplain.

The Seneschal having announced that the Court was duly formed, the Lord Warden said :

“ Mr. Speaker, Right Worshipful Sirs, Barons, and Gentlemen,—I have summoned this Grand Court of Shepway to take upon myself the office of Lord Warden, and I desire my patent of office to be read.”

This document, to which was attached the Great Seal of England, was read by the Seneschal :

“ George the Fifth, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British

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Dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Know ye that We of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion have given and granted, and by these presents for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant unto our right trusty, and well beloved Cousin and Counsellor William Earl Beauchamp, Knight Commander of our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings, the Office of Constable of our Castle of Dover with the appurtenances and also the Office of Warden and Keeper of our Cinque Ports and their Members. And moreover, We do hereby give and grant unto the said William Earl Beauchamp, the Office of Admiralty within our Cinque Ports aforesaid and their members. And We do in like manner hereby give and grant unto the said William Earl Beauchamp, all and all manner of wrecks of the sea, Jetsom, Flotsam, and Lagan, Goods, Merchandises, and effects whatsoever which at any time or times during the continuance of these Our Letters Patent shall be cast away, wrecked, or lost, or which shall be taken up, gotten, or recovered by the said William Earl Beauchamp, his Deputies, or Agents, in any places, ports or creeks, as well by land as water, within the precincts of the Castle aforesaid, or the Liberties thereof, or within the precincts, limits, or Liberties of the said Cinque Ports, or any or either of them, and him the said William Earl Beauchamp, Constable of our said Castle of Dover, and Warden and Keeper of our Cinque Ports and their Members aforesaid, We do make, constitute, and appoint by these presents to have and to hold the said Offices with the appurtenances and the said premises so granted as aforesaid unto the said William Earl Beauchamp, by himself or his sufficient Deputy or Deputies, for and during the term of his natural life, together with all jurisdictions, authorities, fees, and advantage due and of right belonging to the same Offices or either of them or to the said premises, hereby granted, without any account or any other thing to Us, Our Heirs or Successors, to be rendered, and we have also given and granted, and by these presents for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, to give and grant unto the said William Earl Beauchamp, during the term of his

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natural life, full power and authority of making and deputing all and singular Officers and Ministers whatsoever to all and singular offices to be exercised and occupied in our Castle of Dover aforesaid, as fully as We ourselves can or could make within our Castle of Dover and Cinque Ports aforesaid or the Liberties, limits, or precincts thereof if these presents had not been made. In witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made patent.

“ Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the twenty-fifth day of November, in the fourth year of Our reign.

“ By Warrant under the King’s sign manual.

“ MUIR MACKENZIE.”

The Speaker of the Cinque Ports (the Mayor of Winchelsea, Mr. G. M. FREEMAN, K.C.), on the completion of the reading of the appointment, rose and said : “ As Speaker of the Cinque Ports, I have been deputed by my fellow Barons to request your Lordship to take upon yourself the duties and office of Lord Warden, and to maintain the liberties, rights, and privileges of the Ports. Your Lordship has filled many honourable posts during your career, but I am sure that there is no post that can give you more pleasure to occupy than that of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. It is a very ancient and very honourable dignity. It is associated with the names of great admirals, great soldiers, and great statesmen. To name one among so many would be invidious. Formerly the Lord Warden was required to take the oath to maintain the liberties of the Ports. That is no longer felt necessary, but we feel these liberties will be amply secured and well preserved by your Lordship. We earnestly hope that your Lordship may be spared for many years to fulfil the duties and support the dignities of the great office to the satisfaction of your faithful Barons ” (applause).

Earl BEAUCHAMP replied :

“ Mr. Speaker—In response to your request, I have great pleasure in taking over the duties of the ancient and the honourable office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and I undertake to maintain the franchises, liberties, customs, and usages of the Ports.”

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The whole Court thereupon rose and did his Lordship reverence, the Lord Warden's flag was broken on the flag-staff of the Redoubt, and his salute of nineteen guns was fired by the Castle Battery—the new Lord Warden had been duly installed in his office.

CONGRATULATING THE LORD WARDEN

A speech of cordial congratulation to the Lord Warden followed, from Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bt., Judge of the Cinque Ports Court of Admiralty. He said : “ Earl Beauchamp, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of Dover, Romney, Sandwich, Hastings, Hythe, and the ancient towns of Winchelsea and Rye and the other constituent members : It is my duty and privilege, as of right accustomed, to tender you on behalf of the Mayors, Bailiffs and Barons of the Cinque Ports, their sincere congratulations on your installation to-day. Since your appointment to the office you now assume it has been the King's pleasure to invest you with the Order of the Garter, the highest personal distinction that can be conferred on a subject. In this assembly we may well think it was not foreign to His Majesty's purpose to mark his sense of the antiquity and dignity of your office by adding to it an ornament which has already belonged to several of your Lordship's predecessors. Welcome to all your friends, the promotion is doubly welcome to those who, as officers or citizens of the Cinque Ports, are in special duty bound to you as Lord Warden. In this matter your fortune is ours, and we may confidently borrow your motto to return it to you with a fresh application : ‘ Fortuna nostra in bello campo.’ ”

“ My Lord, you have held great offices of State : as Lord President of the King's Council you have been answerable for the due execution of an authority whose range and variety are unparalleled ; you have taken part in granting charters of incorporation in England, and in issuing judgments to settle the disputes of litigants contending in the remotest eastern or western parts of the King's dominions, and even in regions outside British territory. The office to which we now welcome you is older than the establishment of a Privy Council with distinct functions, older than Parliament itself ; and yet its

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history is interwoven with strands that extend unbroken into the life of these Kingdoms and of the British Empire at this day. Gervase Alard, Admiral of the Fleet of the Cinque Ports in the year 1300, served a King whose interests were still largely continental ; he could as little foresee the growth of an island power, to be linked by the broad highway of the sea with lands far beyond his ken, as King Edward himself at Westminster could see in his Parliament the mother of laws and liberty in those same undiscovered lands, and a pattern to be followed by men of almost every civilised nation and speech. But if Gervase Alard and his companions had not been, there would not be that British fleet which even now lies at Spithead. The men of the Cinque Ports were our first schoolmasters in the lesson that the true defence of England is at sea. Let their memory help us to hold it fast ; this is not an idle reminder, for at times it has been ill remembered even since Nelson's day.

“ There is one unusual feature in this present Installation ; I know not whether the like has happened before. Your Lordship is now addressed by an official, who, being of your own appointment, has no more experience than yourself of the Cinque Ports and their peculiar institutions. It would be untrue, however, to say that I came to my office in complete ignorance, for the curiosity of an antiquarian lawyer, encouraged or indeed commanded by my duties as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Public Records, had already led me to some slight acquaintance with the subject. I shall endeavour to improve that acquaintance into better knowledge, and in particular to make fuller inquiry into the history of the privileged jurisdiction exercised on land in former times by your Lordship's predecessors, of which your more ancient Court of Admiralty has witnessed the birth and death, and of which a trace is still preserved in the seal of that living court and in the form of the Registrar's appointment. It will easily be understood that so far my search has been only in the nature of a summary foretaste, and that a certain or rather an uncertain time must pass before it can lead to any result worth publishing.

“ I must not omit a word of tribute to my very learned friend and predecessor, the Right Honourable Arthur Cohen, K.C.,

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who held the office for nearly forty years and adorned it with the singular distinction of a judgment¹ which found a place in the Law Reports : a judgment, I may add, carefully framed to encourage the settlement of claims at an early stage and diminish litigious expense. Mr. Cohen was fitted to command the confidence of suitors by a familiarity with maritime and commercial law to which I have no pretension, and I can only hope that at least I may do nothing to discredit the choice which has named me as not unworthy to succeed him. My Lord, it only remains for me to express our unanimous wish that your association with the Cinque Ports, which we inaugurate to-day, may be long and prosperous " (applause).

THE LORD WARDEN ON HIS HISTORIC OFFICE

An enthusiastic greeting was given the LORD WARDEN when he rose to reply. He said : " We have all of us witnessed and taken part in the ceremony of to-day with feelings of the deepest interest—how much deeper must be the feeling and even the emotion of a Lord Warden who finds himself for the first time meeting so many friends, so many neighbours, so many representative men of the towns to which his office is still a living reality (hear, hear). It can only be with very real emotion that any Lord Warden takes upon himself the duties of his office, and sees his name inscribed upon the roll of eminent men who have preceded him in the past (hear, hear). And deep as must be the feeling of honour of any Lord Warden, in my own case there is added to it feelings of gratification, when I think of my family associations with that post (applause). The ancient Kentish family of Stanhope has been connected in various ways with the office of Lord Warden. Mr. Pitt, one of the greatest of my predecessors, was connected by marriage with that family (applause). The last Lord Lieutenant of Kent was a godson of the Duke of Wellington, and his father had for many years lived in the closest intimacy with the Duke of Wellington at Walmer Castle and elsewhere, and it was not so many years ago that his son published a most interesting book, a record of the conversations that his father had with the Duke of Wellington (applause).

¹ *The Marie* (1882), 7 P.D. 203.

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To-day I am glad to welcome a guest who has honoured us with his company, Lord Rosebery (applause), who shares with myself the same connection, though in different generations, with the house of Stanhope—as both our mothers came from that ancient family (applause). Let me thank Sir Frederick Pollock for his reference to his predecessor. I do not doubt that his own knowledge and legal attainments fit him completely to fulfil the duties of his office. He did not refer as I would wish to refer to the unique circumstance that there are living to-day three people in this country who have occupied the Lord Wardenship in turn, and it is thoroughly characteristic of the distinguished list of men who have held that post to notice how each of these three men living to-day has made a very real contribution to the history of the Empire. It would be unbecoming on my part as a servant of his most gracious Majesty (who was Lord Warden as Prince of Wales) to praise him to this assembly. But it is pertinent to point out that His Majesty's connection with the Navy must always be of special interest to members of the Cinque Ports (applause). For the early history of the British Navy is the history of the Cinque Ports (applause), and the history of the British Navy is the history of the British Empire (applause). Not only is there that special connection of His Majesty's with the history of the Cinque Ports, but there is the fact that he more than any of his predecessors knows the difficulties, the economic and social and political problems of the many portions of his world-wide Empire. He has travelled as none of his predecessors have travelled (applause). Then I turn to Lord Curzon (applause). When he was made Lord Warden, Lord Curzon spoke on the problems of the Indian Empire. He has left an imperishable record as Viceroy of that great dependency, but it remains for Lord Curzon in the future to make greater contributions to the history and statesmanship of England (applause). I have the privilege of sitting opposite him and often hearing him speak. He is, with one exception [bowing to Lord Rosebery], the most eloquent orator in the House of Lords (applause), and it is a privilege to listen to the orations which he delivers in that assembly, and with which I have no fault to find except sometimes with the views and

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opinions to which he gives voice (laughter). Last of all, there is my immediate predecessor in the office, Earl Brassey (applause). As a yachtsman and a philanthropist, Lord Brassey's name is known in many parts of the Empire. Wherever men go down to the sea in ships his work in connection with the Royal Naval Reserve is well known (applause), and he represents in his own person one of those great families which by their commercial integrity and by their abilities have done so much for the prosperity of the Empire (applause). And here, speaking in this place, I would make one reference to one who is no longer with us, but to whom I am bound by special ties of family affection. Lady Beauchamp and I are happily intimately connected with one whose name is loved in Dover—Lady Grosvenor (applause). The death of Mr. George Wyndham was a real loss, not only to Dover, but also, I venture to think, to the country as a whole (hear, hear). I do not know that I have ever met anybody in whom brilliance and charm were combined to so high a degree as they were in the character of Mr. George Wyndham (hear, hear). His brilliance was charming, and his charm was brilliant (hear, hear). Everyone who met him fell a victim to that charm and recognised his brilliance. In addition to that, he possessed literary gifts of no small order; scholarship of no mean kind (hear, hear). May I say to Lord Duncannon—whom I specially thank for his presence here to-day (applause)—that I can wish for nothing better than that he may have opportunities of service to the Empire and the country such as those which Mr. Wyndham had himself (applause). Returning to the more immediate subject of my address, I say again that it is with feelings of very real emotion that I see my name enrolled upon the list of those illustrious predecessors, great in oratory, in Statecraft, in affairs, in the battlefield as well as in the study. Their talents have been many and varied, and it is a solemn moment when one sees one's name placed in succession to so much that is venerable and famous in the history of this country. I can only trust that the duties of the office—official, social, and others—such as still remain to the Lord Warden, will be fulfilled to your satisfaction (applause). We all of us know and realise that the duties have dwindled and that they are not what they

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used to be. But here and now, in the presence of this Grand Court of Shepway, I undertake to fulfil them to the best of my ability " (loud applause).

The Seneschal then made the following proclamation dissolving the Court :

" All Mayors, Barons and others that have had to do at this the King's Majesty's Court of Shepway, before my Lord Warden this day, you shall depart, and take your ease unto a new warning.

" God save the King, my Lord Warden, and the whole Court."

The Mayor of Dover (Councillor Edwin W. T. Farley) on behalf of the Cinque Ports offered the Lord Warden an invitation to luncheon at the Town Hall, which his Lordship accepted, and the fact was proclaimed by the Seneschal in the following terms:

" All Mayors, Barons and others whatsoever that be now here present are warned to proceed to the Town Hall of Dover by two of the clock and there to take such repast as is ordained."

The Lord Warden and members of the Court having been photographed at the Bredenstone, the procession was re-formed and proceeded by way of Military Hill, Worthington Street and Biggin Street, to the Town Hall, being heartily cheered by crowds of spectators along the brightly decorated route.

Outside the Town Hall a guard of honour formed of blue-jackets from the Sixth Destroyer Flotilla was drawn up under the command of Lieut.-Commander P. R. P. Percival, R.N., and this was inspected by the Lord Warden.

The whole of the route was very prettily decorated with flags, festoons and streamers connecting tall Venetian masts, erected on either side of the road, and as the multi-coloured pennants fluttered in the slight breeze the effect was most picturesque. The scheme of decoration was carried out on excellent lines. At the various points of vantage where the crowd was thickest and the military bands discoursed pleasing music during the interval of waiting, the more effective portion of the display had been

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carried out. At the foot of the Castle Hill a banner suspended across the road bore the salutation, "Salve CV Custos", whilst on a similar banner at the foot of Military Hill was the Beauchamp motto, "Fortuna mea in bello campo". In the Market Square and at the Town Hall there were masses of bunting, floral festoons, emblazoned shields and trophies of flags in abundance. In addition to the street decoration excellent effects were created by the decoration of premises on the route.

THE LUNCHEON

The Town Hall was beautifully decorated for the luncheon. In the ancient Maison Dieu Hall there were quantities of magnificent palms, whilst the Connaught Hall, where the luncheon took place, had also been simply but very effectively treated. There were some 250 guests including the Speaker of the Ports (Mr. G. M. Freeman, K.C.) in the chair, the Lord Warden (Earl Beauchamp), the Countess Beauchamp, Archbishop of Canterbury, Mrs. Randall Davidson, Dowager Duchess of Westminster, Lord George Hamilton, Lady George Hamilton, Viscount Duncannon, Lady Duncannon, the Mayor of Sandwich, the Mayor of Hastings, Mrs. G. M. Freeman, Mayoress of Hastings, Mayor of Dover, Mr. R. E. Knocker (Registrar of the Ports), the Bishop of Dover, Viscount Elmley, Lady Northbourne, Mayor of New Romney, Lady Crundall, Mayor of Hythe, Mme. Corbes, Sir F. Pollock, Bt., Lady Seymour, Lord Northbourne, Mrs. Marke Wood, Lady Pollock, Brig.-General H. F. M. Wilson, C.B., Mrs. Wace, Sir A. M. Bradley, Mrs. Nugent, Rev. W. C. Haines, S.C.F., the Dean of Canterbury, Sir W. H. Crundall, Lady Bradley, Colonel Crampton, Mrs. Hancox, Lieut.-Col. Liddle, Mrs. Dykes, Lieut.-Col. Roberts, Mrs. Woods Wollaston, Mr. R. A. McCall, K.C., Lieut.-Col. Langham, Mayor of Folkestone, Capt. Higgins, R.N., Mrs. G. F. Raggett, Mayor of Tenterden, Mr. Henry Hayward, Sir A. Wollaston, K.C.I.E., Miss Todd, Mrs. Harby, Mr. T. B. Harby, Mrs. E. R. Crundall, Captain Wilson, Mayor of Faversham, Rev. E. L. A. Hertslet, Mayor of Margate, Mr. G. F. Raggett, R.N., J.P., Mrs. R. E. Knocker, Major Griffin, Mr. A. T. Walmisley, Mrs. Simms, Capt. Davies, Capt. Hornblower, Lieut.

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E. R. Crundall, Mr. J. Landon, Mayor of Lydd, Mrs. Henry Hayward, Mayor of Ramsgate, Mr. R. Grant, J.P., Ald. Mitchell, Ald. Edgar, Mr. W. Dawes, Ald. H. S. Watts, Mrs. Woodhall, Lieut.-Commander P. R. F. Percival, R.N., Mr. J. B. Aiton, Mayor of Rye, Mayor of Deal, Mrs. Holman Hunt, Mr. P. H. Cunningham, Mrs. Cunningham, Ald. Bishop, Mr. F. Jarrett, Mr. J. Adams, Ald. Salmon, Ald. Woodhall, Mr. R. M. Pope, Miss Maitland Wilson, Commodore G. A. Ballard, C.B., A.D.C., R.N., Mrs. Haines, Mrs. Crampton, Colonel Nugent, M.V.O., Mrs. Roberts, Lieut.-Col. Hancox, Mrs. Davies, Lieut.-Col. Dykes, Mrs. Wilson, Commander Simms, R.N., Mayoress of Faversham, the French Consul (M. Corbes), Mayoress of Margate, Dr. C. Wood, Mr. W. D. Atkins, J.P., Mr. J. Scott, J.P., Mr. Crummack, Dr. Baird, Mr. H. J. Taylor, F.R.C.O., Mr. H. R. Geddes, Mr. R. G. Williams, and representatives from Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney, Hythe, Winchelsea, Rye, Lydd, Faversham, Folkestone, Deal, Tenterden, Margate and Ramsgate.

Whilst the luncheon was in progress, a small orchestra under the leadership of Mr. A. T. Dixon played selections of music.

The SPEAKER said : "The first toast I give is that of His Majesty the King. No words are necessary to commend this toast to His Majesty's most faithful subjects, the Barons of the Cinque Ports. It is, however, of interest to remind you that when Prince of Wales, like many of his predecessors, His Majesty held the office of Lord Warden. The King has made many visits to various parts of his kingdom, and if Lord Beauchamp could persuade him to make a tour of his Cinque Ports, I can assure His Majesty of as loyal and hearty a welcome as he has anywhere received."

THE PRIMATE'S SPEECH

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, in proposing the toast of "The Lord Warden", said : "The high privilege has been entrusted to me of commanding to your attention the toast of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (applause). The matter of his entry upon that high office and the character of that office has already been brought before you by more eloquent tongues than by mine at the Bredenstone this afternoon, but it

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is well at this hospitable board that you should be invited, as I do invite you, to drink to that toast that we all desire to honour. I suppose it is true to say that the proceedings of to-day with all their picturesqueness and all their force are in a marked degree characteristic of English life. England, much more than other lands, has tried, and now tries increasingly, to link up by outward signs and show its past with its present, as affording the best basis for security and for confiding hope for its future (applause). If that characteristic is appropriate to England as a whole, it has surely quite peculiar appropriateness in that part of England to which those present belong. East Kent, and all that it has of association and of interest, stands in the very forefront of whatever is stimulating, whatever ought to be uplifting and helpful in the story and the traditions of English life (applause). Our white cliffs around the coast line here have been identified beyond any other part of the country with bits of English history and events in the life of English men and women of fame (applause). Beyond all other places that one could choose, here is the place where in actual sight of the Continent of Europe we have been the first of Englishmen to be constantly in touch with all that brings us into immediate community and comity and love—sometimes of hostility too—with the lands beyond the sea. It has been the place of new departures of every sort and kind. I suppose a good many of those to whom I speak, like myself, were brought up to learn our English history from the pen of Mrs. Markham (laughter). Mrs. Markham has a delightful ring about her still to my mind. She is so fair and assuring and dogmatic. She tells you without the slightest hesitation that Caesar landed two miles from Deal. I doubt not that she was perfectly right, and the words of sceptics of to-day fall perfectly in vain on my ears, for I go back to Mrs. Markham, and I know she is right. No one doubts that for a moment that 1500 years ago our Saxon ancestors Hengist and Horsa landed within the limits of the Cinque Ports. That is without doubt. Still less is that St. Augustine and his companions, when the sixth century was merging into the seventh, landed here and brought the Message of Peace and Goodwill, for which we thank God to-day. The whole history of Kent, the

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stream of Canterbury pilgrims, the stream of the great men who followed them, the statesmen, the diplomats, and the scholars who came to these islands always found their first footing on English soil within the limits of the Cinque Ports (applause). I think, passing from history to personal reminiscences, some of us recollect landings of our own within the Cinque Ports. To put it in the simplest way, we did not feel quite at our best (laughter). Here we think for once—not of Kentish hops, although we do not want to forget them ; not of Kentish cricket, although we certainly do not want to forget that—we think of the Kentish shore, the Kentish ports, and the Kentish landings, which give special significance to our gathering to-day. And we wish God-speed to the Lord Warden who takes the post of the Warden of the Cinque Ports—some of them are ports no longer—but all of them equally alive to the splendid traditions of the glories of which they are the holders and the trustees to-day (applause). For a genuine glory it definitely was. Here was the nursery of English seamanship. Here was a group of ports from whence sprung the English Navy to which the whole world is doing honour this week in the great spectacle that is taking place at this very moment (applause). The Lord Warden's is a proud position : to be the chieftain and custodian of such traditions as these. You have an illustrious ancestry of office as you have an illustrious ancestry of family. I wonder whether it crosses your mind that there was a time, more than six hundred years ago, when the two things—your ancestry of office and your ancestry of lineage—were in touch the one with the other. I think I am not wrong in saying that one Lord Warden was the founder of your illustrious house, a man who took part with Edward I.—and I think with Edward II.—in the wars against France and against Scotland, who was at the King's right hand and was the most notable of the men of prowess with the first Edward. About the wars with Scotland it would be of doubtful taste for me, a Scotsman, to say anything to-day (laughter); especially as we are within a week or two of the commemoration of the battle of Bannockburn which happened six hundred years ago. Therefore, we will think simply of France (laughter), where the war in which this

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Beauchamp took part was of the deadliest kind. That war was to carry out the work which had been begun by the mariners of the Cinque Ports. They, on the seas of the Channel, had been at strife with the seamen of France ; they had won their way. France was seeking its revenge, and your ancestor was one of those who helped to clinch what had already been begun—to secure the victories which had been started by the Cinque Ports for the permanent good of England (applause). You have come to, and you have already been reminded of it, a great heritage of historic office, ennobled by names of great men. Your own name will henceforward be linked inseparably along with theirs with the history of what I veritably believe to be the most notable bit of land and sea in England—East Kent and the English Channel (applause). Speaking as a friend of a good many years, I can say that Lord Beauchamp is one who has, from the culture that he has acquired and cherished, from his wide experience in England and in the Antipodes, come to be among the men who has appreciated in the past, and illustrates in the present, the great traditions, civic and ecclesiastical, sacred and secular, which find in this region such marked expression (applause). May the duties be lighter—the individual responsibilities certainly will be less—than in the past, but you hold what is beyond question one of the most historic posts in England ; illustrious in modern, as well as in ancient days, ennobled by such names as Pitt and Wellington, Palmerston and Salisbury, Dufferin and Curzon (applause), and as the Chairman has reminded us, by the name of the high and puissant Sovereign to whom we now owe allegiance (applause). It is, my Lord Warden, in the belief that you will adorn that position, that you will hand on its banner unsullied, and its traditions undimmed, that we all desire to-day to wish you happiness, prosperity and God-speed " (loud cheers).

The toast was enthusiastically honoured, with Kentish Fire.

THE LORD WARDEN'S REPLY

The LORD WARDEN, who was given an ovation on rising, said : " I rise to respond to the toast of my health which has

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been proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and so warmly received by the company assembled here. My thanks are due to you, not only for the warm way in which you have acknowledged the toast and received it, but also for the welcome I have received from every one of the Cinque Ports who took the opportunity of congratulating me upon my appointment. I feel also that my thanks are due to those who, in various ways to-day, have made plain their welcome to me in the streets of Dover. I do not suppose that any of us who were there at the ceremony this morning will ever be able to forget how interesting it was. I doubt if there is any ceremony the roots of which go so far back into English history as the Grand Court of Shepway. I am sorry to find that, for various reasons, that Court has been held so often in the last few years, but you will be in accord with me, I hope, when I express the wish and the expectation that no such Court will be held again for at least thirty years (cheers and laughter). I take this opportunity of making something of an apology to the representatives of the Cinque Ports and the associated towns who are here to-day. I am sorry that it is not possible for me at present to make myself acquainted with the various ports and towns in the way I would wish. My duties and responsibilities at Westminster make that impossible. No doubt the time will come when, with less responsibilities (cheers and great laughter), I shall be able to see more of the Cinque Ports and something of the municipalities comprised within their area (applause). I believe when the time comes that I shall be received with as much cordiality as to-day (cheers). His Grace has referred, as I have already referred, to the fact that the duties of the Lord Warden are now less than they used to be. The appurtenances described in history have dwindled ; so also have the official responsibilities. But the responsibilities and the duties of another office in this country have increased. The Archbishop of Canterbury represents an office the difficulties of which seem to increase year by year. The responsibilities are great, and comprise the whole world, and I take it, therefore, as a great compliment that he has been able to make the time—for Archbishops could not find it—to come here and has done me the great compliment of proposing the toast of my health

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(cheers). I speak for all the Cinque Ports when I say we appreciate his presence here to-day (applause). My duty is not confined to responding to my own health. I have the honour and pleasure of proposing the health of the Speaker of the Cinque Ports, and before doing that I am sure you wish me, on behalf of all who are here, to offer your congratulations to the Seneschal and Registrar of the Cinque Ports for the successful organisation which is necessary in order to produce so smooth a result as we have witnessed to-day. I have the pleasure to propose the toast of the Speaker of the Cinque Ports, the Mayor of Winchelsea, and we are fortunate in being able to toast one known far beyond the boundaries of his own ancient town. It is a pleasure to me always to propose the toast of any Mayor of a municipality, because since the time when I had the honour of being the Mayor of Worcester I have felt how great is the importance of municipal work to the life and prosperity and comfort of any community of people in this country. Therefore, in proposing the toast of the Speaker of the Cinque Ports, I propose the toast of his health as a representative of the admirable municipal work which is carried out throughout the length and breadth of England, which does so much for the well-being and prosperity of the people throughout the country. It is a pleasure to me to propose the toast of the Speaker of the Cinque Ports, and I thank him for the way he has carried out his duties during the day. I shall never forget the interest of the ceremony and I hope always to carry out the duties of the office which has been entrusted to me " (applause).

THE SPEAKER RECALLS ANCIENT DAYS

The SPEAKER, in responding, thanked the Lord Warden for the way in which he had proposed the toast of his health, as representing the Cinque Ports. The position of the Barons of the Cinque Ports was most ancient and honourable. They were always a boisterous, sometimes a rude race of people, difficult to manage at times (laughter). They always liked to be fighting something or somebody, and they did not much care who (laughter). They were pleased when the King asked them to fight the French, or Flemings, or Spanish, or Welsh, or even,

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pace the Lord Archbishop, Scotsmen (laughter). And they generally brought back something with them (laughter). People took a rather narrow view of the Portsmen and did not like them or their places, so whenever the opportunity came they got burned and pillaged. So fond were they of encounters that when they could not find any foreigners to fight they fought English people themselves (laughter). So far did they go that when they were fighting the French together with the Yarmouth men they set to with the men of Yarmouth and exterminated them (laughter). In the same way they fought a good fight against the men of Fowey (laughter). After a time they became more peaceful because they were less powerful and poorer (laughter). An interesting incident occurred a great many years ago. The men of Poole, in Dorset, wanted to define the boundaries of their Harbour, and whom did they apply to but the jurats of Winchelsea, who went to Poole and were rowed to the several boundaries and to impress it on their minds drank several bottles of wine at each point. A few weeks ago the document then drawn up was used in Parliament as the authoritative record of the boundaries of Poole Harbour. Now there were signs that they were going to revive—at any rate most of them. Dover was going to become a great Imperial Port. Hastings was going to become the Paris of the South. Rye had found refuge in an ancient game, in which cannon balls were exchanged for golf balls. Sandwich was going to become the Swansea of Kent, whilst Winchelsea folded its hands and sat in the sun (laughter) and reposed upon its heritage of fadeless beauty and eternal poetry. The Barons of the Cinque Ports and the two ancient towns had been always true to the cause of God, their King, and their Lord Warden, and while they continued to have breath and being he was sure they would continue to serve that cause (applause). It was part of Earl Beauchamp's duties to look after the ancient monuments of England. They hoped he would find plenty to look after when he came to visit the Cinque Ports (applause). He hoped above all things the Lord Warden would recollect that the greatest monument they had and the proudest memory they inherited were those liberties and privileges he had sworn to maintain (applause).

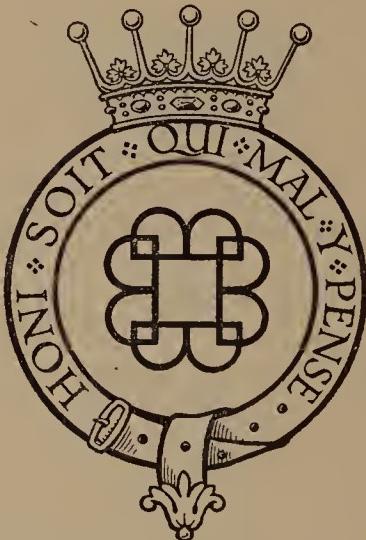
WALMER CASTLE AND ITS LORDS WARDEN

HEALTH OF THE SENESCHAL

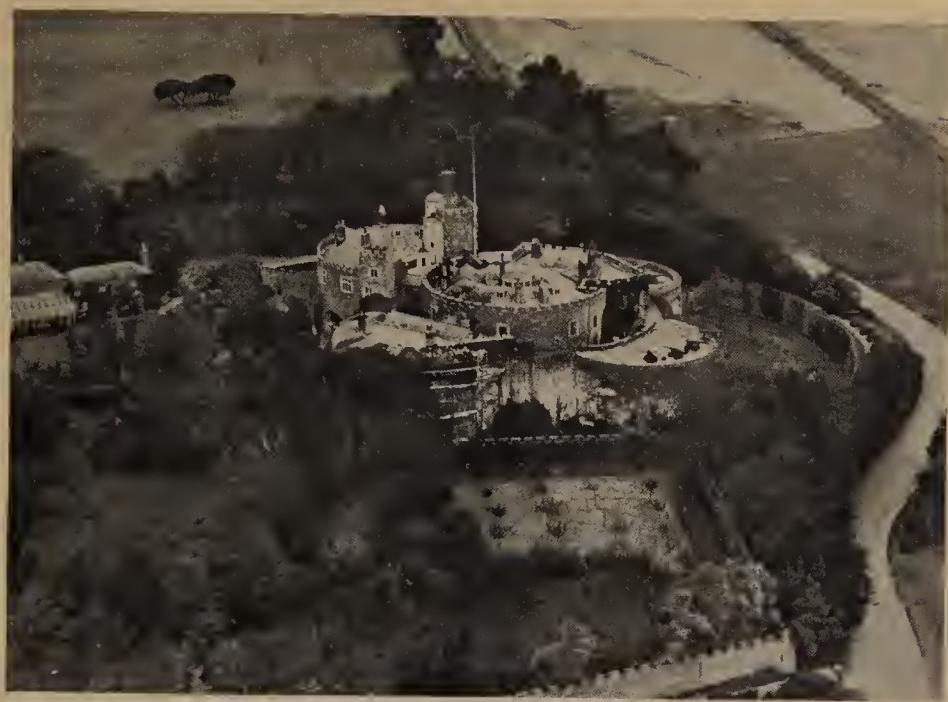
The MAYOR OF HASTINGS proposed the health of the Seneschal of the Court, Mr. R. E. Knocker, who had carried out the duties appertaining to his important office in a very admirable manner.

Mr. KNOCKER, in responding, said he was extremely obliged for the kind allusions made by the Lord Warden and the Mayor of Hastings. The work had not been light, but he had gladly undertaken it as it was of great and deep interest to him.

The proceedings were concluded by the playing of the National Anthem on the organ.



THE CIPHER OF EARL BEAUCHAMP



WALMER CASTLE FROM THE AIR

APPENDIX II

THE HEIRLOOMS AT WALMER CASTLE

UP to the death of Lord Dalhousie, no question was raised as to the ownership of the furniture of Walmer Castle. All movables that were in the place were considered as the property of the Lord Warden for the time being and on his death passed to his heirs. Apparently, however, it was usual for the incoming Warden to take over the effects at a valuation ; and certainly in the Duke of Wellington's time, certain chairs and other articles were noted as having belonged to Mr. Pitt.

Lord Dalhousie succeeded to what was left in the Castle on the Duke's death—presumably paying a valuation. The third Duke of Wellington wrote in March 1892 :

“ Lord Dalhousie who succeeded my grandfather as Lord Warden never was at the Castle, but he lent it to Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley in 1855 to 1857. I was there both times, naturally,¹ and I remember the old Duke's room was untouched, and exactly as I remembered it the day before he died in September 1852. I used to go and see him in his room every morning.”

When Lord Palmerston succeeded Lord Dalhousie he refused at first to take over the furniture at a valuation : Dalhousie's executors contending that if it were put up to auction the articles would fetch high prices as relics. At this point the second Duke of Wellington stepped in and protested that the old Duke's personal furniture should not be put up to auction : and by agreement, the camp bedstead, the bed-

¹ He was their son.

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table, the arm-chair and a few other articles from the Duke's bedroom were taken away and stored at Apsley House. After this Lord Palmerston took on the furniture at a valuation, but the Duke's possessions remained at Apsley House.

On Lord Palmerston's death, "everything without any exception that was in the Castle at that time was bought by Lord Granville from Lady Palmerston, and I never heard the slightest question raised as to her having the right to sell anything".

So Lady Granville on December 6, 1891, wrote to the Hon. W. F. D. Smith, M.P., son and heir to the late Lord Warden, who was now concerning himself about the future of these historic possessions.

On December 19, 1891, Mr. Smith addressed the Prime Minister on the matter :

" 3, GROSVENOR PLACE, LONDON, S.W.

" DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

" I venture to write to you on the question of the Pitt and Wellington relics at Walmer Castle.

" These have hitherto been sold to each succeeding Lord Warden as part of the ordinary furniture of the Castle, but the sale or purchase is optional to either side respectively. Once bought, however, they seem to become legally the property of the purchaser without any restrictions as to their subsequent disposal.

" My father thought that it was a pity that there should be any chance of the relics, known to have belonged to Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Wellington, being alienated from the Castle, and had intended, with your sanction, to make them heirlooms to the Lord Warden for the time being.

" I should like, if I may, to carry out my father's intention, and also to add, with your approval, the collection of portraits of Lord Wardens brought together by Lord Granville.

" I enclose a letter from my father's solicitors as to my power to do so, and also copies of letters which Lady Granville has kindly allowed me to show you, bearing on the fact that each succeeding Lord Warden has hitherto purchased the proposed heirlooms.

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“ There is also enclosed a list of the articles I propose to include.

“ It would be necessary to appoint a Trustee, but as the Castle is already in the custody of the War Office, I would suggest, subject to your approval, that the Secretary of State for War for the time being might be the Trustee.

“ It would also be necessary to mark each article, and this I would propose to effect by the same means which Lord Granville employed to mark some of Mr. Pitt’s chairs, *i.e.* a small brass plate.

“ Finally, I would suggest that there should be a framed list of the articles hung in some prominent place within the Castle.

“ Believe me,

“ Yours very faithfully,

“ W. F. D. SMITH.”

This project was welcomed by Lord Salisbury as not only desirable but as “ most characteristic of the late Lord Warden ”. Lord Dufferin, as Mr. Smith’s successor, guaranteed his hearty co-operation.

In the following March Mr. Smith pushed his good offices further and approached the Duke of Wellington with a suggestion that the articles stored at Apsley House should be restored to Walmer. To this the Duke agreed, “ on the condition that they are replaced in the Duke’s room in as nearly as possible their old positions and are made heirlooms to the Lord Warden for the time being ”.

Only one relic of the Duke from Walmer was excepted—the chair from the drawing-room in which the Duke used to sit, which was in the possession of Lady Charles Wellesley.

By July 1892 the draft deed settling these articles on the Lord Warden for the time being was approved. Since then the number of heirlooms, each of which is duly ticketed and labelled, has been increased by succeeding Lords Warden and by none more copiously than by Lord Curzon.

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